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TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1494

EAST

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MOST ETHNIC GERMANS WANT TO LEAVE ROMANIA

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 1 Aug 77 pp 91-93

[Article: "The Sinking Ship"]

[Text] The Transylvanian Saxons and Banat Swabians no longer believe that there is a future for them in Romania. Most ethnic Germans want to leave Ceausescu's state as quickly as possible.

They have outlasted the Tatars and the Turks, the plague and the witchhunts. They have rebuilt their destroyed villages dozens of times, have dug in tenaciously in their stone church fortresses and have resisted any enemy for as long as 800 years.

Now, after 30 years of communist rule, the Transylvanian Saxons are surrendering. They now appear to regard it as senseless to make further personal sacrifices for the continuing existence of their ethnic group.

Along with the Saxons in Transylvania, the Swabians in the Banat are capitulating. Of the altogether 358,732 Germans in Romania, according to reliable estimates about 60 percent would like to emigrate to the FRG just as soon as they can.

A farmer near Hermannstadt (Sibiu in Romanian) gives his reasons as follows: "When the ship is already in the process of sinking, a sailor need no longer worry about the planks of the mast; all he can think about is his own skin."

The ancestors of the Romanian Germans came to the regions west of the Carpathian Mountains in thrusts of two big waves of immigration.

In order to secure his borders in the Carpathian arc, the Hungarian King Geza II (1141-1161) fetched himself the so-called Saxons in the middle of the 12th century. Actually only a minute part of them came from the Saxon area. The vast majority were Franconians from the Rhine and the Moselle. The area of settlement consisted of swamps and barren steppes.

In the middle of the 18th century Vienna's Empress Maria Theresa got the Catholic Danubian Swabians to settle in the Banat. They cultivated the region around the town of Temeschburg, the Austrian Theissenburg, called Temesvar in Hungarian and Timisoara in Romanian.

The pioneer achievements of these German immigrants were considerable. They gathered the first stones for Hermannsdorf--the later proud bourgeois Hermannstadt--and built Europe's easternmost Gothic cathedral in Kronstadt (Brasov). Their Temeschburg bears all the earmarks of a stately provincial capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

And the Germans enjoyed some privileges. Neither serfdom nor aristocracy were known among the immigrants. As early as in 1224 they received a charter which conceded them an almost autonomous administration.

Romanians were allowed to live only outside the Saxon villages, and later, as a favor, at their fringes. For the Germans considered themselves absolute masters of the country. Mixed marriages with Romanians virtually did not exist at all, and with the Hungarians in the Banat only occasionally.

In 1939, there were 745,421 Germans in Romania. In 1966--at the beginning of the family reunions permitted by Romania--there were still 376,652.

The rest--more than 368,000--in part had fallen in the Waffen-SS, in part had moved back into the Reich in 1940, in part had fled west before the Red Army and in part had perished in Soviet forced labor camps.

At first blush it would appear that among all the expatriate Germans in East Europe the Saxons and Swabians had hit the jackpot. They were spared the fate of their compatriots in Yugoslavia, Poland and Czechoslovakia. Unlike Warsaw and Prague, Bucharest did not press for their resettlement after the Potsdam conference.

But with one blow after another the German remnants were presented with the bill for this: the Romanian communists expropriated all Saxon and Swabian farmers, even the poorest ones.

A Schaessburg [Romanian equivalent not given] woman recalls: "The confiscators passed the doorknob to one another. The first demanded my three cows, the second the plow. The third demanded the bed in which my 3-year-old son was sleeping. The fourth cleared out the pantry. And the last took the house after it had been stripped clean. At 5 below Celsius, I stood with four small children in the street and did not know where to go."

In Transylvania alone, the Germans at that time lost 34,500 farms, 93,800 cattle, 27,000 horses, 84,000 swine and 70,000 sheep.

The fact that the neglected houses were later returned to their original owners could not save the ethnic group, for in the meantime it had lost all the pillars of its existence.



The introduction of kolkhozes had deprived it of its economic base in the village. Though engaged in the hardest possible physical labor (there is hardly any machinery), the collective farmers are vegetating at starvation wages. So only those who have no choice remain. The capable ones emigrate.

The smashing of their trades had robbed the Germans of their economic base in the towns. The sons of onetime shoemakers, tailors and locksmiths have become mobile industrial workers. Depriving the church of its say in many ways has robbed the Germans of anything to hold onto--particularly the Protestant Saxons, who had always gathered closely around the Lutheran Church.

In 1945, 75 percent of the Romanian Germans had been farmers; now only 20 percent of the farmers are living in an agricultural environment, with the remaining 80 percent forming a semiurbanized industrial proletariat. With few exceptions, the formerly mostly German localities have long since had Romanian majorities.

The settlement area of the Saxons and Swabians had never been a compact entity. Today, however, Germans everywhere are crumbling into a negligible quantity. The former little Transylvanian towns are turning into areas of industrial concentration in which the Germans perforce go under. Among the 257,000 inhabitants of Kronstadt there are probably only about 13,000 Saxons.

The villages, in turn, in accordance with a party decision, are to grow into medium-size towns in the next 20 years, in which the next Saxon houses at best will constitute a folklore factor.

Under such untoward circumstances, the Germans could survive only through planned government promotion, but the young Romanian nation has much too great a need to catch up with chauvinism to regard its minorities as an enriching factor.

There are very few German mayors and heads of kolkhozes, and German politicians get ahead in Bucharest only if they are sure not to do anything for their compatriots.

The more than 100 German place names have been deleted from the map: not a single bilingual sign reveals that Sura Mica once was called Kleinscheuern and that Girbova used to be called Urwegen. Even German broadcasts refer only to Sibiu and Brasov.

The few German-language papers write the same party gibberish as the Romanian-language ones--albeit with something of a delay. The reputable paper NEUER WEG (masthead: Daily paper of the Provincial Council of the Front of Socialist Unity) even copies the weather report of the Communist Party organ SCINTEIA reports the "weather today and tomorrow," NEUER WEG on the following day prints the "weather yesterday and today."

Of course the government promoters of tourism see in each of the 296 Saxon church fortresses a miracle of Romanian architecture. Even the legendary gold treasure of the Visigothic King Athanaric from the 4th century actually is alleged to be of Romanian origin. According to the most modern version, the Goths stole it from the old Dacian ancestors of today's Romanians.

True, one does not dispute the individual Saxon or Swabian the right to his own national existence. The Romanian rulers let him attend mass in German, sing German folksongs and blare forth band music. At folk costume weddings, he may persuade himself that his world continues to be in good shape. In Temeschburg and in Kronstadt there are two theaters giving performances for him. And if he searches very hard, he will discover some GDR phonograph records or will find a little bit of primitive literature from the old country.

As a whole, however, the German ethnic group has but a single task: to assimilate as quickly as possible. As a result, many Romanian Germans give up; there is no point in holding out. From 1966 to December 1976, a total of 42,500 Germans emigrated to the FRG under the pretense of "family reunion." In 1975 there were 5,000 who did so, in 1976 about 4,000. Since the first quarter of 1977, applications for immigration have increased enormously. At present about 80,000 such applications are under consideration.

There probably would be 100,000 such, or even more, if the party had not opened fire on them. Newspapers and radio are railing day after day, stating that there is no happiness abroad. Only in the Banat can one be a Swabian; only in Transylvania can one be a Saxon. Whoever goes to Germany is following the siren songs of criminal neofascists and will inevitably end up in misery.

Bucharest is afraid lest the departure of the German labor force jeopardize the fulfillment of economic plans. Partly officially and partly unofficially, the Romanian officials cash in premium payments for each emigrant--reportedly an average of 10,000 deutsche marks per person. And the state takes over the houses of emigrants at a price not exceeding a trivial 40,000 lei (DM 7,600).

Romanian Germans with especially nice houses can expect preferential treatment: they get their emigration permit even if they have not applied for one at all.

This happened to two old Saxon women in April. When they protested, the officials pretended amazement, saying: "But why don't you want to emigrate? It is so nice in the FRG!"

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'TANJUG' QUOTES MOSCOW PAPER ON EUROCOMMUNIST MEETING

Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1845 GMT 13 Dec 77 LD

[Text] Moscow--The representatives of the French, Italian and Spanish communist parties, who took part in an international symposium in Frankfurt am Main entitled "Eurocommunism, the Political and Economic Future of Europe," have been criticized today in the Moscow newspaper SOTSIYALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA for failing to oppose various social-democratic and other concepts at this conference.

"It is amazing, SOTSIYALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA writes, that the responsible representatives of the French, Italian and Spanish communist parties at this symposium did not offer resistance and did not refute the cynical statements of H. Ehmke, deputy chairman of the faction of the German Social Democratic Party, in the Bundestag. "The Moscow daily says that this politician called on the communist parties of France, Italy and Spain to go for "social-democratization or re-bolshevization."

The Soviet paper sharply condemns the representatives of these three parties for, in its view, also reacting in a conciliatory way to statements made by "such a representative of big capital as the well-known Christian-Democratic Party politician Barzel." SOTSIYALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA directs a further criticism at the representatives of these parties: "Discussions are held not only with friends but with class enemies as well," the Moscow paper writes, adding that the most important thing here is that "the clarity of class position should not be lost sight of."

The paper, however, considers that the organizers of this international conference were the only ones to show such "clarity of position," for which the representatives of the three biggest Western communist parties are accused of "indulgence" toward bourgeois and big capital.

The paper even says, citing the statements made by participants at the symposium, that these parties "have already set foot on the social-democratic path but for the time being are hiding the fact."

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## ALBANIA

### BRIEFS

HOMAGE TO STALIN ON BIRTHDAY--Recently, on the occasion of the 98th birthday of J. V. Stalin, the great Marxist-Leninist, the faithful pupil and worthy continuer of the immortal work of V. I. Lenin, the V. I. Lenin-J. V. Stalin Museum in Tirana has been visited by many workers from work and production centers, soldiers, school children from the district and by young people from other districts of the country. In the museum, there have been discussions on specific topics and general discussions as well as film presentations. By means of various materials and documents, visitors have learned about Stalin's life, his untiring activity for the revolution, his valuable contribution to the protection and creative development of Marxism-Leninism and about the determined struggle he waged against the enemies of the people, of the revolution, and of socialism. [Text] [Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 22 Dec 77 p 1]

JOURNALISTS UNION ELECTIONS--The Sixth Conference of the Union of Journalists of Albania and of voluntary correspondents took place on 21 December in Tirana. The conference elected the members of the organs of leadership, the Management Council of the Union of Journalists of Albania and the Auditing Commission. In its first meeting, the Management Council elected the leadership of the Union, composed of 14 persons. Agim Popa was elected president of the Union of Journalists, Cajup Rusmali, Arqile Aleksi, and Mefail Pupuleku, vice presidents and Sotir Papuli, secretary general. In its first meeting, the Auditing Commission elected Kozma Skarcon to be its chairman. [Excerpts] [Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 22 Dec 77 p 1]

CSO: 2100

## BULGARIA

### JUDICIAL SYSTEM CRITICIZED

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Dec 77 p 2

[Article by Marin Marinov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Court: "The Court Obeys Only the Law; Characteristics which Circumvene the True Facts"]

[Text] According to the constitution judges and jurors are subordinate exclusively to the law in the implementation of their functions. Decisions and sentences are passed in the name of the people. Trying specific cases and exercising their rights in the implementation of the penal process, the judges are independent of the remaining state organs and of any officials or public organs and organizations.

The principle of court independence was particularly emphasized in the report submitted by Comrade Todor Zhivkov to the Eleventh BCP Congress. The Congress stated that the procuracy and judicial organs must improve their activities in the strict observance of socialist legality on the basis of the equality of all citizens in the eyes of the law.

The party provides the party and political guidance of the courts and takes the necessary measures to improve socialist justice and train judicial cadres who are loyal and dedicated to socialism and possess high practical, moral, and political qualities. Everyone realizes how seriously the dispensing of justice could be harmed should the judge be directly or indirectly influenced, and how helpless a person may feel if his fate depends not on the law and on unquestionable proof but on other accidental factors and intercessions.

A certain method of procedural supervision over the work of the courts nevertheless exists. Such is the supervision of the second instance in appealing the sentences and resolutions of courts of the first instance, and special methods used to annul effective court acts through supervision review and reopening of cases.

The State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic as well has control functions over the work of the courts. It provides mandatory interpretations of laws and normative acts. The Supreme Court exercises supreme

court supervision over the activities of all courts and insures the precise and uniform application of the laws by the courts. The views and conclusions of the procuracy are not mandatory to the courts. The second instance in which the case is reviewed on a supervisory basis exercises its rights within the law. It does not issue specific instructions as to how to conduct the case as such. The Ministry of Justice as well has no right to issue instructions on the trying of specific cases.

The right to independence of the courts in the trying of cases has been proclaimed not only in the constitution. An entire system of procedural rules exist to guarantee its practical exercise. This right is guaranteed by the socialist judicial system based on democratic principles and regulations governing the organization and activities of socialist courts.

The principle of court independence requires that the judges disqualify themselves in conflict of interest cases. Secrecy of consultations, equality of judges and jurors in passing sentences, decisions, and definitions, and the right of a judge to have a separate opinion which must be checked by the superior court are guaranteed.

Our Criminal Code includes a section entitled "Crimes Against Justice, whose article 289 reads as follows: "Anyone who prevails upon an official belonging to the preliminary investigation, procuracy, or judicial organs to violate his official duties related to meting justice shall be punished by deprivation of freedom for no more than two years, or corrective labor, or public reprimand."

Nevertheless, there still are people who try, one way or another, to influence the courts. A citizen holding a high public position and a responsible office in a state administration submitted a report to the court stating that he was visited by citizeness N. who complained that the court had not resolved properly a case in which she was involved. The official investigated and established that facts different from those accepted by the court existed. Therefore, the official insisted that the case be reviewed in the spirit of his report and in accordance with the factual circumstances he had established. Such actions are erroneous and conflict with the stipulations of the law.

Whereas in socio-political life, in some cases, the recommendations of a prestigious citizen may be needed concerning the labor, political, and moral characteristics of someone, intercessions are absolutely inadvisable in court cases and must be considered as anti-social actions. Such actions are condemnable for they represent solidarity with the criminal or an effort to alleviate the application of the law or a justly imposed punishment ignoring the fact that such punishment is retribution for the suffering of innocent people.

In a number of cases the courts consider that such character references do not correspond to reality. However, let us note that the work of the courts would be far better, more effective, and more useful if all public organizations, state establishments, enterprises, and citizens would become imbued with a high awareness of responsibility in connection with data and information they submit to the courts.

Let us consider a case of a severe crime: rape with murder motivated by hooliganism and committed with particular cruelty. The defendant is a sports figure who has participated in a number of national and international sports competitions.

The public menace represented by defendant X has been clearly proved by his behavior and court record. He has been sentenced for hooliganism--fights and scandals--and engaged in impudent cynical and unseemly actions. He has displayed obvious disrespect for society. He has also been found guilty of theft of socialist and private property.

After the sentence was passed a representation was submitted by the chairman of the physical culture society which stated among others the following: "We beg that in the review of the case the person's positive qualities and progressive origin be taken into consideration, together with the fact that over a number of years X has been a very good competition sportsman . . . " The positive character reference which was issued was also signed by the secretary of the Komsomol Society.

Where is the logic of all this?

The press plays a very great role in strengthening socialist legality and popularizing the institutional nature of court autonomy. Articles on such topics are of great interest to the readers in connection with trials. They educate and enhance the legal awareness of the citizens, disseminate legal knowledge among the people, explain our socialist laws, and mobilize the citizens in the struggle against negative social phenomena. They create an atmosphere of intolerance toward crime and legal violations, and help to enhance the educational role of the judicial process.

Occasionally, however, the daily press carries articles and essays which do not help the courts yet influence court decisions directly or indirectly. This obtains whenever a crime is prejudged by the press as absolutely proved, and when categorical conclusions are drawn on the accuracy of one or another fact even though, essentially, all this should be investigated by the court and the court alone could pass a guilty sentence.

A number of party documents emphasize the need to sharpen the feeling of intolerance on the part of the public toward legal violations and negative phenomena. The task is for the struggle against crime to concern not only specialized state organs such as courts, the procuracy, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, but the entire public. Since, on the basis of accurate, complete, and correct information the public displays its intolerance toward negative social phenomena the court must take such healthy trends in public opinion into consideration. Naturally, the court would pass sentence only if the individual has committed a crime as stipulated by the law and the crime has been proved beyond doubt.

The main obligation of the court is to develop its view on the case on the basis of the strict observance of the mandatory procedural forms stipulated by the law, with accurate and profound investigation and evaluation of the proof, and while observing the basic principles of the procedure--directness, competitiveness, and publicity--guaranteeing that the objective truth will be found and that the law will be properly applied.

5003

CSO: 2200



## BULGARIA

### BOOK ON PARTY MILITARY POLICY REVIEWED

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Dec 77 p 3

[Review by Colonel Professor Fil'o Khristov of the book "Za Voennata Politika na Partiyata" [On the Party's Military Policy] by D. Dzhurov et al. Sofia, 1977, 160 pp]

[Text] Voenno Izdatelstvo has pleased the readership with the publication of an original work on programs of military policy written by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politbureau, and Colonel Generals Atanas Semerdzhiev, Kiril Kosev, and Khristo Dobrev.

This is the first book published in our country in which, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist positions, the authors elaborate problems of present BCP military policy. The following topics are treated in the preface and the four chapters: "The Eleventh Congress and the Party's Military Policy"; "Stipulations Governing Combat Readiness, Training, and Education of the Troops"; "Party-Political Work at a Higher Stage"; and "Combat Alliance among Fraternal Armies."

After providing a scientific definition of the party's military policy, from the very beginning the work traces the historical process of molding the views of the party on war and armed forces. The influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution is stressed together with the adamant and systematic work done by the party to organize the clandestine armed forces of the Revolution and their contribution to the victory of the 9 September uprising.

The work allocates an important role to the party's military policy in the rapid development of the Bulgarian People's Army in the revolutionary days after 9 September, indicating the creative approach adopted in the structure, training, and education of the Bulgarian People's Army. In this connection the authors stress the role played by Georgi Dimitrov at the Fifth BCP Congress on laying the foundations of the party's military policy and establishing the main tasks in the field of defense; the authors describe the role of the April 1956 Plenum and the Tenth BCP Congress in the further strengthening and the development of the Bulgarian People's Army. They

indicate the exceptional credit earned by Comrade Todor Zhivkov for the development of the theoretical problems and practical activities of the military department in the structure, training, and upbringing of the troops.

A large percentage of the work deals with military problems stemming from the decisions of the Eleventh BCP Congress. On the basis of a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the contemporary international situation, the ratio of forces, and the policy pursued by reactionary imperialist forces the authors expose the aggressive nature of imperialist strategy. They draw the substantiated conclusion that despite the occurred detente the danger of war has not been eliminated. They consider the nature of modern warfare and draw conclusions on the imperative need to implement a system of measures which would provide favorable conditions for the building of a developed socialist society and maintaining the forces in constant combat readiness.

The defense power of the state is considered as part of a system whose structural elements are described. "Defensive power," we read, "is based on military potential which is a function of the economic, scientific, and socio-political and moral potential of the country" (p 24). The authors then consider specifically and substantiatedly the shaping of the individual elements, stressing their place in increasing the defense capability of the country. The military policy of our country is considered as a structural part of the military policy of the Warsaw Pact members.

Stemming from the concept of the decisive role which the armed forces play in insuring the defense of the country, the authors substantiate comprehensively and convincingly the main tasks of the Bulgarian People's Army stemming from the decisions of the Eleventh Party Congress. They provide a scientific definition of troop combat readiness and elaborate the factors on which it is based. The work also stresses the basic requirements facing the officer corps at the present stage, and the communist style and method of work and leadership.

The authors also pay attention to the need for enhancing further the party's leading role in military affairs. They describe knowledgeably the conditions which determine the increased influence of political organs and party and Komsomol organizations in comprehensive army life. They describe in detail the party means which contribute to strengthening the discipline and the political and moral condition of the personnel. They stress the place and role of the patriotic and international upbringing of the troops in the further expansion and intensification of the friendship and combat cooperation among Warsaw Pact forces. They elaborate the main directions in the development of the party organizations in the armed forces as leading political nuclei and models of military labor collectives.

As an organ of our socialist state the Bulgarian People's Army must defend the revolutionary gains and insure the territorial integrity of the country. However, as a structural part of the armed forces of the socialist comity it contributes to the defense of socialism, peace, and progress. This noble

function of the Bulgarian People's Army in which it combines national with international tasks has been convincingly developed and substantiated. On the basis of Lenin's theory of the defense of socialism and the experience of the USSR and of the socialist comity the authors describe the reasons which led to the establishment of the Warsaw Pact. They describe the role of the decisions of the Eleventh Party Congress in expanding and intensifying the cooperation between Bulgaria and the Bulgarian People's Army, on the one hand, and the fraternal members of the socialist comity, on the other, above all the USSR and the Soviet armed forces.

The high ideological and theoretical level of the considered problems of BCP military policy in the stage of building a developed socialist society and the adopted practical approach make the book a valuable aid not only for the military personnel but for all Bulgarian citizens.

The book on the party's military policy arms, and provides ideas, knowledge, and experience which will help the cadres to resolve the problems stemming from the resolutions of the Eleventh Congress and July BCP Central Committee Plenum in the structuring, training, and upbringing of the troops so that they may meet even better the requirements of insuring the defense of our socialist homeland.

5003

CSO: 2200

## BULGARIA

### BOOK ON CONTEMPORARY WARFARE AND BATTLE PREPAREDNESS REVIEWED

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 14 Dec 77 p 3

[Review by Reserve Colonel Docent Ivan Tuchevev of the book "Za Suvremennata Voyna i Boynata Gotovnost" [On Modern Warfare and Combat Readiness] by Khristo Dobrev, VI, 1977]

[Text] It has become a tradition in recent years for the Voenno Izdatelstvo publishers to offer the readers ever more frequently interesting and useful works on military theory. This was confirmed this year as well. Following the publication of "Kratka Voenna Istoriya na Bulgariya" [Short Military History of Bulgaria], "Neyadrenoto Oruzhie za Masovo Porazyavane" [Non-Nuclear Mass Destruction Weapons], "Voyna i Geografiya" [War and Geography], and others, which drew the attention of the readers, the recently published book "Za Suvremennata Voyn i Boynata Gotovnost," made available to the readers only a few days ago, is of particular interest.

Colonel General Khristo Dobrev, the author, has considered a number of very interesting, important, and complex problems related to the question of peace and war which, in our days, has developed into a universal problem.

A large percentage of the problems considered in the work are of interest not only to the military readers and specialists but the mass readership as well. Reading the book, anyone would inevitably reach the conclusion and conviction that the country's defense is an exceptionally complex and difficult problem whose successful solution is possible only by clarifying in advance the main problems related to the building and training of the armed forces and preparing the country for defense. The main purpose of the work is precisely an attempt to provide a substantiated answer to the basic questions related to the country's defense.

As described in the introduction, the author's purpose in writing this work is "to answer this interest (in problems of war--IT) by systematizing and describing in an accessible way the tremendous amount of data found in the various official sources and publications on such problems and to sum up acquired practical experience in the fields of military construction and defense."

The study of this work shows that the author has achieved his purpose. He has done tremendous work in gathering and summing up data pertaining to the most important problems he discusses.

The work is divided into two uneven parts. Each of them consist of two basic sections including from two to seven main topics. The headings of the parts, sections, and topics are precise and clear, revealing to the readers their content and protecting the author from significant repetitions.

The first part entitled "Changes in the Nature and Ways and Means of Modern Warfare. Military Doctrines" is a study of the factors under whose influence changes have occurred in the nature of war and in the ways and means of waging it, in the content of military doctrines and in the significance of combat readiness.

Let us clearly stipulate that the author has provided a rather successful and relatively full description of a future war should imperialist or other forces conspiring with international reaction be able to launch it. It is to be noted, however, that the problem of local wars has been described very briefly. It has been merely outlined.

Analyzing the military doctrine of the United States and NATO, the author proves that the basic factor in replacing one doctrine with another is the change in the ratio of forces throughout the world in favor of socialism.

The profound study and criticism of Maoist concepts of war and armed forces, anti-Soviet, anti-Marxist, anti-communist, aggressive, and adventuristic, deserve particular attention. The author properly points out that "the PRC is just about the only country in the world whose government considers war useful and inevitable and is devoting all possible efforts to provoke it." This unquestionably proves that the Peking leaders are trying to convert China into an imperialist reserve.

The author's views and summations on the united and the national military doctrines of the Warsaw Pact members will be of great interest to the readers. He draws the entirely justified conclusion that "the national military doctrines of the individual socialist states apply to the unified socialist military doctrine the way the policies of the individual socialist countries apply to the coordinated policy of the socialist comity."

The second part of the work entitled "Combat Readiness of the Armed Forces and Readiness of the Countries (Coalitions) for War" deals with the nature and content of the combat readiness of the armed forces, and the readiness of countries (coalitions) to wage war and the means to upgrade such preparedness.

Comparing the concepts of "combat power" and "combat readiness," the author reveals their common aspects and basic distinguishing characteristics. He stresses that the concept of combat readiness is broader than that of combat

strength. He also discusses extensively the question of the content of the meaning of combat readiness of the troops, the readiness of the country to wage a war and the factories which determine them. Considering the stipulations regarding combat readiness, the author substantiates the tremendous significance of the time factor. This part of the work convinces the readers irrefutably that the maintenance of groups in constant readiness is a complex operation involving many funds and efforts of the entire army personnel, the command personnel above all. Furthermore, it becomes clear that matters must be seen in perspective in order to insure accurate operative-strategic planning and establish optimal ratios among the arms, branches, and special forces. Commanders and staffs must be able rapidly to bring the forces up to the highest level of combat readiness. They must train on time the necessary manpower resources, accumulate all types of supplies, and insure the high discipline and the ideological-political, physical, and psychological training of the personnel. He pays proper attention to troop control as an important component of combat readiness, describing the stipulations it must meet. The author also considers the development of military science.

The content of the country's (coalition's) readiness to wage war and the components which such readiness encompasses are described quite fully.

In the second part of the work the author describes the ways and means for upgrading the combat readiness of the armed forces and the readiness of the countries (coalitions) to wage war. He stresses the great importance of the numerical strength, battle order, staffing, deployment, and level of combat readiness of peace-time armies and describes the requirements they must meet. He also indicates the requirements governing the organizational structure of the troops. He also directs the attention to reducing the time needed for insuring the mobilization readiness of the troops. He emphasizes the role of all basic measures implemented according to the curriculum, recalling the basic problems to which the greatest attention is paid in training commanders, staffs, and troops.

Let us state clearly that whereas problems of troops combat readiness are considered to one or another extent in the daily and periodical military press, even though not so completely and systematically as in this work, the author's statements on ways to upgrade the readiness of a country to wage war are almost entirely new.

The profound consideration of the problems reveals the erudition of the author as a military specialist and his ability to study complex socio-political and military-strategic problems.

The work is of a size suitable for widespread use (300 pages) and is easy to read. Unquestionably, in an eventual second edition, the author should avoid some repetitions and data known by the readers from the daily and periodical press. It would be better to annotate all sources from which summed up figures have been taken.

Despite this, however, as it is, the book will be very useful above all to the military readers and will cast abundant light on a number of so far untreated problems in our military publications. This is the author's unquestionable merit.

5003

CSO: 2200

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### ONLY CARTER TO ATTEND SADAT-BEGIN MEETING

Prague Prague Radio in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1730 GMT  
28 Nov 77 LD

[Text] In an interview given to a United States television network, President al-Sadat of Egypt clearly confirmed that his visit to Jerusalem had not just been a curious episode in history but a well-prepared overture to separate Israeli-Egyptian talks. In his television interview President al-Sadat invited all those involved to take part in a meeting in Cairo, as he puts it, in preparation of the Geneva Conference. So far so good, but President al-Sadat's proposal amounts to political blackmail, as he added that if the Arab countries failed to accept this proposal he will negotiate with Israel by himself. This then is an ultimatum which boils down to efforts toward a separate peace and betraying the Arab people.

This al-Sadat policy is facing determined opposition among most Arab countries. Syria, Algeria and the Palestine Liberation Organization refuse to take part in such a meeting. In protest against the al-Sadat policies, Iraq has stopped air traffic to Egypt. The Government of Kuwait has expressed concern over what it describes as a serious rupture in the Arab world caused by President al-Sadat's contacts with the Israeli enemy. The so far sharpest reaction is the announcement of the holding of a conference of Arab leaders disagreeing with the separatist initiative of the Egyptian president. The conference is to take place in Tripoli, Libya, on 5 December. An official statement of the Syrian Government says that the Tripoli Conference is to take the necessary steps against plots prepared by President al-Sadat following his visit to Israel. The top-level gathering is to be attended by leaders of Syria, Algeria, Libya, South Yemen, and the Palestine Liberation Organization. And so, the only one who is willing to be present at a possible further al-Sadat-Begin meeting is United States President Carter who, in an interview given to the French paper L'EXPRESS, praises Anwar al-Sadat for what he calls a constructive approach to Israel which helped to break the deadlock.

Had the United States President been more sincere he would have said: which helped to break Arab unity. After all, this would also reflect his interests



to a much larger extent. The United States press admits that influential circles in the United States were the initiators of these separate talks. Anwar al-Sadat, playing at peace talks, answered the concept of United States policies which have always lacked goodwill in seeking a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict.

CSO: 2020

## EAST GERMANY

### POLITICAL AFFILIATION OF KEY GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONARIES DETAILED

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 22, Oct 77 pp 7-10

[Report by FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations: "Only 8 of 235 Top Government Functionaries in GDR Are Members of CDU, DBD, LDPD or NDPD"]

[Text] The former CDU deputy minister in the GDR government Gerd Moenkemeyer, who recently left the government, has now been replaced by CDU functionary Dr Harald Naumann (for personal data, see below). This means that, as has been the case for years, only 8 of the 235 ministers, deputy ministers and state secretaries will be members of the smaller GDR parties--the CDU, DBD [Democratic Peasant Party of Germany], LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] and NDPD [National Democratic Party of Germany]. All of the remaining 227 government functionaries in the GDR government are members of the SED. Compared with the roughly 2 million members of the SED, the other GDR parties thus are represented well below par in the government apparatus. (The membership figures of these parties are: CDU, over 110,000; DBD, about 90,000; LDPD, about 70,000; NDPD, about 80,000.) In the GDR government apparatus, the four parties furnish each one deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. In addition, there are 3 NDPD members and 1 CDU member among the 155 deputy ministers. The DBD and LDPD do not furnish a deputy minister.

There are 43 persons with cabinet rank in the GDR Council of Ministers. The council is headed by Willi Stoph (SED) and his two first deputy chairmen, Werner Krolikowski and Alfred Neumann, both of the SED. In addition, Stoph has nine other deputies, including five SED members and one representative each of the CDU, DBD, LDPD and NDPD.

These 12 politicians together with 4 ministers (the minister for finance, the minister for agriculture and forestry and the foodstuffs industry, the minister for foreign trade and the chairman of the Price Office) form the

Presidium of the Council of Ministers, which handles the business of the council between sessions. This body can reach decisions which are binding for the entire council. In addition, it drafts the basic decisions of the Council of Ministers, making it possible for the council to concentrate on the tasks to be solved.

The members of the Presidium who belong to the small parties are:

--Manfred Flegel (NDPD), born in 1927, since 1967 deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, from 1971 to 1974 simultaneously minister for material management, member of the NDPD Executive and Secretariat;

--Hans-Joachim Heusinger (LDPD), born in 1925, from 1959 to 1972 secretary of the LDPD Executive, since 1972 deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of justice, member of the LDPD Central Executive and Secretariat;

--Hans Reichelt (DBD), born in 1925, from 1953 to 1955 minister, then state secretary in the then Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, from 1963 to 1971 deputy chairman of the Agricultural Council (or Council for Agricultural Production and the Foodstuffs Industry), 1971-1972 deputy minister for agriculture and forestry and the foodstuffs industry and since 1972 deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister for environmental protection and water management, member and secretary of the DPD Executive;

--Rudolph Schulze (CDU), born in 1918, since 1963 minister for posts and telecommunications and since 1971 deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, member of the Presidium of the CDU Main Executive.

These four representatives of the small parties in the Presidium of the Council of Ministers are the sole representatives of their parties in the 43-member GDR Council of Ministers. Three of them (Heusinger, Reichelt and Schulze) simultaneously head ministries (justice, environment and water management, and posts and telecommunications). Flegel, in addition to being deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, presides over the State Contract Court, which is charged with duties concerning the fulfillment of state plans.

Of the five deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers who belong to the SED, four also at the same time head ministries (the State Planning Commission enjoying the rank of a ministry). They are: Guenther Kleiber, minister for general engineering, agricultural machinery and vehicle building; Wolfgang Rauchfuss, minister for material management; Gerhard Schuerer, chairman of the State Planning Commission; and Herbert Weiz, minister for science and technology. Gerhard Weiss is the permanent GDR representative on the Executive Committee of CEMA. Of the remaining 31 members of the GDR Council of Ministers (all SED members), 24 head a ministry and 7 hold cabinet rank on the basis of other positions.

These seven hold the following offices:

--Chairman of the Price Office (Kurt Halbritter);

- president of the state bank (Horst Kaminski);
- chief mayor of East Berlin (Erhard Krack);
- chairman of the Workers and Peasants Inspection Committee (Heinz Matthes);
- state secretary for labor and wages (Wolfgang Beyreuther);
- state secretary in the State Planning Commission (Heinz Klopfer);
- deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission (Kurt Fichtner).

All told, there are 31 ministries (including the State Planning Commission) in the GDR Council of Ministers. In these, there are altogether 35 state secretaries, who generally also bear the title of first deputy minister. In the ministries, they are the actual representatives of the minister. These state secretaries, without exception, are members of the SED.

Some ministries have two state secretaries, or first deputy ministers; one ministry has no state secretary or first deputy, and in two ministries the person holding the office bears the title of first deputy but not the title of state secretary. Here are the details of these exceptions:

- The Ministry of Foreign Trade has two state secretaries, of whom one in addition bears the title of first deputy minister;
- the Ministry of Construction has two state secretaries who simultaneously are first deputy ministers;
- in the Ministry of Trade and Supply there is one state secretary who at the same time is first deputy minister and one state secretary who is responsible for Supply;
- in the Ministry of Justice there are two state secretaries, both of whom bear the title of first deputy minister;
- in the Ministry of the Interior and State Security, the responsible deputy minister bears the title of first deputy but not that of state secretary;
- in the Ministry of National Defense there is no state secretary or first deputy minister;
- the Ministry of Science and Technology has two state secretaries who at the same time bear the title of first deputy minister;
- the Ministry of Transport has two state secretaries, of whom one in addition bears the title of first deputy minister;
- there are two state secretaries in the State Planning Commission.

In addition to these 35 state secretaries or first deputies who are active in the ministries, the GDR government includes 3 more state secretaries, who head the following state secretariats:

- State Secretariat for Labor and Wages;
- State Secretariat for Professional Training;
- State Secretariat for Physical Training and Sports.

Further there is a state secretary for church questions, in the Ministry of the Interior. The head of the Secretariat of the Council of Ministers also bears the title of state secretary. These state secretaries are also all SED members. (In addition, in the government offices below government level there are some government functionaries who bear the title of state secretary--e.g., the head of the Office for Industrial Design or the president of the Office for Nuclear Security and Radiation Protection. These state secretaries are not considered in this analysis.)

In addition to the mentioned total of 40 state secretaries in the ministries or with spheres of responsibility of their own, there are another 155 deputy ministers in the GDR government. As a rule, little is known about their sphere of responsibility, and moreover their importance differs depending on the importance of the ministry concerned. At least in part they are in charge of definite fields; in part they function as deputies of their minister outside the ministry in certain areas of their field of responsibility.

The number of deputy ministers differs from one ministry to another. Thus, e.g., the State Planning Commission has 11 deputy chairman with the rank of deputy minister.

While the Ministry of National Defense has no state secretary, it has eight deputy ministers, including the heads of the three branches of service (army, navy and air force).

The ministers for chemical industry and for agriculture and forestry and foodstuffs industry each have eight deputy ministers, the ministers of foreign trade and of trade and supply each have seven. Most ministries have between three and six deputy ministers. The minister for glass and ceramics, the minister of justice, the minister for light industry and the minister for state security have only two deputies each.

Of these 155 deputy ministers, 151 belong to the SED. Three deputies are members of the NDPD, and one belongs to the GDR CDU. The LDPD of the GDR and DBD do not furnish a deputy minister.

The three deputy ministers of the NDPD are:

- Wolfgang Bein, since 1966 one of four deputy ministers for bezirk administered industry and food industry, member of the NDPD Main Committee and Presidium;

--Heinrich Meier, from 1965 to 1972 one of the deputy chairmen of the State Planning Commission and since 1973 one of the two deputy ministers for glass and ceramics, member of the NDPD Main Committee and Presidium;

--Hans Breutbarth, since 1970 one of the two deputy ministers of justice, member of the NDPD Presidium.

The CDU deputy minister is:

--Dr Harald Neumann, from 1966 until his new appointment as one of seven deputy ministers for trade and supply, secretary of the CDU Main Executive, member of the Presidium of the CDU Main Executive.

Chart Showing Party Membership of the  
235 Members of the GDR Government Apparatus

Members of GDR		SED	CDU	DBD	LDPD	NDPD
Council of Ministers	43	39	1	1	1	1
State secretaries or first deputy ministers in ministries and state secretaries with own sphere of responsibility (excluding two state secretaries who are simultaneously members of Council of Ministers)	38	38	-	-	-	-
Deputy ministers (excluding one who simultaneously is a member of the Council of Ministers)	154	150	1	-	-	3
	235	227	2	1	1	4

It may be seen that while there are 227 SED members, there are only 8 representatives of the other 4 parties (or 3.4 percent of the total).

8790

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

CIVIC CONFIDENCE IN, EXPECTATIONS OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY DISCUSSED

East Berlin TRIBUNE in German 4 Nov 77 p 11

[Interview by TRIBUNE editor Manfred Strzeletz with Dr Helmut Frommknecht, dean (prorektor) for science organization and information/documentation, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee: "Aren't We Too Sure of the Future? Or: Whence We Acquire the Certainty That Our Plans Will Indeed Work Out?"]

[Text] We inquired, quite at random, wherever we happened to be in recent weeks, "What do you have planned for next year?" Karin K. came from Fuerstenwalde to look at clothes in the bridal shop in Berlin's Bruederstrasse. The wedding would take place in March. Her Peter was at the city library and picked her up. "Well, get married and finish my master's study," was his reply to us. At the construction site on the Rostock Autobahn, another Peter sat on the grader. He is building a single family dwelling and wants to move into it in the summer of 1978. In Bitterfeld, Carola S. crossed our path. "If everything goes all right, in a year I will long since have become a skilled worker in chemistry." Walter M., longtime Bitterfelder and grandfather four times over, is still uncertain. "I'll be 65, could retire. But that is still not exactly the thing for me, and metal workers are really sought-after people." Dr Juergen K., employed at Karl-Marx-University in Leipzig, wants to get a "B" degree. Lutz R., just back from the NVA [National Peoples Army], is receiving additional consultations from the doctor, from his attendant, so he can make up for the first month of study. Naturally, he wants to complete next year with good results in his studies. And, finally, Frau M. in an LPG [agricultural producer cooperative] near Potsdam. "Stay healthy and enjoy myself on a three-week trip abroad which I received as a reward for good work."

All those we asked have plans, big and not so big, and problems. But the big concern about tomorrow? They had none. Each had his goal, was more or less certain: I am already accomplishing it. Where did he get his faith and confidence in the future? For many, this question was far more difficult to answer. "With us it is...", "with us it can...", "we have the possibility..." This "us," this "we," meant for them our social order, in which they feel safe,

in which they have confidence, to which they entrust their future. From whence this confidence comes and why it is justified was the subject of TRIBUNE editor Manfred Strzeletz' talk with Dr Helmut Frommknecht.

--All those we questioned are confident that their plans are succeeding. What really gives them this firm confidence?

The social relationships of our socialist GDR, above all--whether Karin K., Carola S. or Lutz R. are always fully conscious of this or not. Their experiences, which they have had in our workers' and peasants' state, prove that everyone who is industrious and resolute in this socialist state, and who performs good work, can also reach the goal he sets for himself. Our basic principle "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his performance" furnishes a positive guarantee for this.

--What possibilities does our society offer them?

As was again emphasized at the Ninth SED Party Congress, the chief goal of our policy is "the welfare of the working class and all working people, the happiness of the people in peace and socialism." This policy becomes evident, above all, in the realization of the chief task in its unity of economic and social policy. Growing work performances, progress in production, especially on the basis of accelerated scientific-technical progress, are more and more directly for the benefit of the working class and all other working people. The consistent accomplishment of the unity of economic and social policy has enabled us in recent years to begin the most comprehensive social-political program in the history of the GDR up to now and to realize it successfully step by step. Every person in the GDR has the possibility of participating in the solution of these tasks, of acquiring valuable training, of developing his creative capabilities and, consequently, of participating actively in the progress of our socialist society.

--The personal plans which these and certainly many other citizens of our republic, as well, have set for themselves are, therefore, real. In what relationship do they stand to Red October?

The Great October Socialist Revolution fundamentally altered the life of the Soviet people. A social order was produced in which the working class, in alliance with the peasants and intelligentsia, firmly hold power in their hands, an order in which the means of production belong to society and in which, therefore--for 60 years now--the systematic, dynamic and crisis-free development of the economy, social security, growth, prosperity and stability is guaranteed. That is reflected also in the new constitution of the USSR. With it, the Soviet Union has indicated to all peoples the road to a better future in the direction of socialism, democracy and peace. And we in the GDR have just travelled this road and are continuing to follow it because all of our successes are rooted, in the final analysis, in fidelity to the ideas of Red October.



--Socialism has developed successfully in the 60 years since Red October. What influence does that have on our own development in the GDR?

The friendship and fraternal alliance of the GDR with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in all spheres are an important basis and prerequisite for the realization of the tasks and goals as they have been set in the SED program. How all-embracing and significant these relationships of the alliance are is shown by the treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance which the GDR has concluded with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

--How can each individual personally contribute to the strengthening of socialism?

He can do that most effectively by employing all his capabilities, his entire personality to further strengthening the GDR politically, economically and also, not least of all, militarily. In this way he is making an important contribution to the development and strengthening of the socialist community of states, to the preservation of peace and to the security of socialist achievements, as well as, not least of all, to the further strengthening of the world revolutionary process.

--What is the evidence that the number of those who trouble themselves about this is growing?

The number of those who, consciously and actively, are participating in the formation of the developed socialist society in the GDR is growing constantly. They know, as also confirmed by the Ninth FDGB [Free German Labor Union Federation] Congress, that constant economic growth among us is the decisive basis for a high material and cultural standard of living of the people. Their knowledge turns to action as, for example, in socialist competition, which--especially in this year honoring the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution--has received significant impetus. In the collection of documents presented by Erich Honecker to Leonid Brezhnev several days ago, the results are recorded. That is also shown, however, in the rapid development of the innovator movement. In 1976, 30.9 percent of all employed people were already participating in it. The gain resulting from their innovator activity amounted to M 3.7 billion. This year, every third employee is participating. This development is closely connected with the movement of the competitions of the leaders of tomorrow. If, in 1969, there were 496,000 participants within the framework of this movement who displayed 139,000 different exhibits for comparison and evaluation, their number grew in 1976 to 2.2 million with approximately 583,000 exhibits. The competitive initiatives of the workers, the peasants of the cooperatives and the members of the intelligentsia in the framework of socialist economic integration go far beyond the borders of our country and, consequently, strengthen our entire socialist community.

--In Dresden, Erich Honecker spoke about the enormous foreign economic burdens that have arisen for us at the present time. Can they endanger our plans for the future?

Comrade Honecker's speech did not in any way produce this impression. On the contrary, in my opinion, it was very clearly demonstrated that the socialist social order in the GDR, with its advantages and motivating forces in contrast to capitalism, represents a higher type of social organization of labor, and in it lie the source, the power and the guarantee for our irresistible advance.

Concerning the foreign economic burdens, Comrade Honecker presented this problem dialectically by pointing out that these burdens can be made up for through greater achievements. That means deepening further the intensification of production, the acceleration, above all, of scientific-technical progress and its economic effectiveness. That these questions were treated so clearly and fully is of great value. Those who accept our hitherto successful progress and that which has been previously achieved as a matter of course were addressed in this speech. It was clearly and unmistakably demonstrated that further successes must be stimulated through corresponding performances.

--We say that socialism and peace form a unity. But as long as imperialism exists, the danger of an imperialist war persists also. Could our plans for the future founder on this?

Since the Great October Socialist Revolution--the past 60 years have proven this--imperialism has left no stone unturned to reverse the course of history and to weaken socialism--indeed, even to destroy it. Today, however, the power, the resolution and the activity of world socialism and its alliance, which is constantly becoming stronger, with all progressive and peace-loving forces on earth have created the real possibility that war will be banished forever from the life of the people.

--What do we have to do to guarantee peace?

The policy of peaceful coexistence between states of differing social order, urged by the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, must be pursued further and supported actively with all forces. Only in this manner can the hands of the aggressive circles of armaments monopoly and their lackeys be bound, can they be forced to retreat. At the same time, we must strengthen and perfect our own defense--as long as agreements on disarmament are still lacking--for the defense of socialist achievements.

--Public opinion research institutes in capitalist countries report that anxiety about the future is becoming stronger and stronger there. Why?

The policy of the ruling circles in these countries is losing credibility among the working population in stronger and stronger measure. There are

very real reasons for that. Some years ago, a very optimistic future was prophesied for the capitalistic social order of the bourgeois ideologists. In all colors and shadings, myths about the "social state," the "welfare state," the "quality of life" and still more were launched. Today, more and more, pessimism scepticism and uncertainty are spreading. The causes for this can be sought in the profound crisis of the capitalist system and all of its consequences. Thus, for example, Guenter Grass, the FRG author, recently wrote in the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU: "Another important question--before which I stand in fear, I admit it openly--is that of the 200,000 unemployed youth, a figure that is growing constantly. And this potential lives in a country that is rich, that has reserves and in which, nevertheless, there has been a failure to give young men a view of the future through the medium of a prospect."

--Notwithstanding that, they attempt again and again to make this tempting to us. Why?

The bourgeois ideologists seek, as usual, especially by means of radio and television, to agitate the working people in the socialist countries, but especially the youth. They are supposed to be enticed by an image of capitalist society according to which prosperity, self-realization and freedom would prevail. But, as capitalist reality reveals daily, that is a really foolish deception maneuver.

--What, therefore, determines our future in the final analysis?

The great successes which the working people in the Soviet Union, in the GDR and in the other socialist countries have achieved under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist parties in the fashioning of the new social order confirm the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist wisdom that, in our epoch, socialism is the only social order that is capable of solving all basic problems of social development in the interest of the working people, for the welfare of mankind. We will, therefore, continue along our good path of socialism and communism by the side of the Soviet Union.

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CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

STRICTER SED CONTROL SEEN FOR LOCAL PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVES

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 228, 29 Nov 77 p 3

[Report from Berlin: "People's Representatives Under Stricter SED Control." A translation of Friedrich Ebert's East Berlin NEUER WEG article, referred to below, follows this commentary.]

[Text] The SED deputies in the local people's representations of the GDR are to be controlled more strictly than heretofore by the superior party organs. In the functionaries' journal NEUER WEG, Politburo member Friedrich Ebert has called on party kreis headquarters to exercise an "even more effective" influence on the political content of the work of the people's representations. He said it was necessary to look into the manner in which the representatives were fulfilling their party mission of political work among the masses and were maintaining contact with the population. It was also important to know what influence the representatives were exercising on deciding questions which had become topical, whether they were uncovering shortcomings "boldly and fundamentally" and were constructively participating in the solution of problems, but also whether their proposals were heeded by the leading officials in the government apparatus and the leading personnel of enterprises. Such purposive political leadership by the leading party organs, Ebert said, can reinforce the public interest in the work of the local people's representations.

Friedrich Ebert Article

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 32 No 22, Nov 77 signed to press 10 Nov 77 pp 961-966

[Article by Friedrich Ebert, member, SED Central Committee Politburo: "The Work of the Comrades in the People's Representations"]

[Text] The experience in implementing the decisions of the ninth party congress confirms that the higher aims and greater tasks which were decided by it for the further formation of a developed socialist society, and thus

for creating the prerequisites for a gradual transition to communism, are connected with the further strengthening of the socialist state power in our country.

#### Expression of Our Democracy

Here, too, our party is consistently following the decisions of the ninth party congress. "The main direction in which the socialist state power is developing," the SED program states, "is the further unfolding and perfecting of socialist democracy." The people's representations, as the elected state organs of power, are a special expression of our socialist democracy. They are the decisive democratic foundation of our state. The party congress therefore demanded that the activity of the people's representations be made even more effective.

At this time, when it is a question of conscientiously working out the 1978 plan and discussing it with the population, this fundamental orientation of the ninth party congress is gaining renewed social significance. The result is that high demands are made especially of the people's representations, their organs and the deputies in town and country.

#### People's Representatives Working on Behalf of the Working Class

Almost 200,000 deputies of people's representations of bezirk and kreis and town and community are performing work fraught with responsibility to develop their territory politically, economically, culturally and socially. Among them about 100,000 SED members are proving their worth. To a large extent it is due to them that in fulfilling the party's mission we have made good progress in heightening the effectiveness of the people's representations and the authority of the representatives and that their tie with the masses has become still closer.

The comrades in the people's representations are conscious of their responsibility: on behalf of the working class, they exercise state power. Therefore they place their whole strength and person in the service of fulfilling this, their most important, social function. Let us take the example of Comrade Gertrud Horn, representative of the people's representation of the Town of Werdau, shift leader in the Two-Cylinder Spinning Mill State Enterprise and mother of two children. Whether in her residential area, in the electoral district, in the Permanent Housing Commission or in her labor collective--as a comrade and deputy she is striving everywhere to consult about the decisions of the party and the municipal assembly with the citizens and her fellow workers and to implement them. She has, e.g., a great share in preparing and implementing the complex preservation and modernization of housing in Zwickauer Strasse in Werdau.

### A Representative Who Has Firm Ties With the Citizens

She says: "Both in the plant and in my residential area and in the electoral district many citizens come and speak to me. There are proposals for improving trade and supply, for beautifying the town, for improving municipal traffic, but there are also requests and concerns having to do with housing, as well as complaints--I have to follow up everything. The town council and the kreis council render me good support. I am glad if I can help. I try constantly to improve my work as a deputy and to give it life in order always to justify the trust the population has placed in me."

With such a sense of responsibility Gertrud Horn, like many other communists in the elected organs of power of our state, are realizing in an exemplary manner the demand contained in the SED statutes "constantly to consolidate the ties with the masses, explain to them the meaning of the policy and decisions of the party, convince them of the correctness of party policy, enlist them in their implementation and learn from the masses" in order to react in time to wishes and needs, proposals and criticism and to bring about changes.

Above all, the responsibility of these comrades consists in raising socialist democracy to an ever higher level and, through it, to insure ever better the participation of the working people in the formation of social relationships. An express orientation in this direction is the Politburo decision entitled "The Further Tasks of Party Political Work with the Masses."

### Assistance for the Party Groups of People's Representations

Effective assistance in improving the work of people's representations and of the comrade representatives is rendered by the SED bezirk and kreis headquarters. These devote particular attention to the party groups in the people's representations, rendering them effective support.

In accordance with the statutes, it is the task of the party groups in the elected state organs "omnilaterally to reinforce the influence of the party, to advocate its policy among nonparty members, to consolidate party and state discipline, conduct the fight against bureaucratism and insure the implementation of the directives issued by party and government." This clearly defines the field of activity of these party groups.

In the activation of party groups, some bezirk and kreis headquarters have gathered good experience. Thus, e.g., in the bezirks of Dresden, Magdeburg, Frankfurt/Oder and others, the work of the party groups in the elected state organs and their guidance are regularly analyzed by the leading party organs, with generalization of good results. In the party groups the exchange of experience concerning the implementation of party decisions and the solution of problems of plan fulfillment has proved itself exceedingly well. Such consultations are particularly helpful to the comrades if they are at the same time oriented toward certain main points. The consultations make it easier for the comrades to realize how, e.g., communal work taps all local

reserves in the interest of higher economic effectiveness and how the representatives can actively work for this.

### Progress in Territorial Rationalization

Thus the comrades in the municipal assembly in Karl-Marx-Stadt have dealt with the question of how in their territory reserves are to be tapped for the intensification of production and the further improvement of working and living conditions. In this, they based themselves on the statements by the secretariat of bezirk headquarters to the effect that the existing possibilities of tapping reserves from the cooperation of local people's representations and their councils with the enterprises and combines are not yet being fully utilized. Above all, it had been pointed out, the generalization of the most progressive examples of territorial rationalization would represent an important step forward for the city.

Therefore the comrade representatives thoroughly familiarized themselves with what Erich Honecker had to say concerning these questions in his speech to the first secretaries of kreis headquarters.

Further, they studied the decision of the Council of Ministers concerning the report of the council of the Kreis of Muelhausen about the experience gathered in territorial rationalization and the promotion of multiple shift work dated 24 March 1977. Equipped with the knowledge thus gained and convinced of the economic significance of these processes, they are seeing to it in their spheres of activity, in enterprises and residential areas, that many proposals are submitted, that no ideas fall by the wayside and that the measures of territorial rationalizations are purposively implemented.

### To Tap Reserves for the Benefit of All

In many enterprises the groups of representatives effectively promote discussions concerning these questions. In the process, they make use of party and works assemblies as well as of consultations with brigades and innovators, events organized by the FDJ and the Chamber of Technology and personal conversations with fellow workers and functionaries of enterprise managements in order to take full advantage of the possibilities of highly effective territorial rationalization on the part of all concerned.

Today the representatives of the Municipal Assembly of Karl-Marx-Stadt can point to considerable results. With 29 enterprises a program for improving the basic assets economy was worked out. The capacity of highly productive machines is being utilized 2.3 percent better than in 1976. An additional 575 workers were enlisted in a second or third shift. The supply of workers and commuter traffic have been improved correspondingly. A total of 16 enterprises are jointly producing means of rationalization. This year alone, they want to produce 1.1 million marks' worth of installations for improving labor productivity, particularly also for small and medium enterprises. There are also manifold initiatives in the city for coordinating investments. For

instance, construction measures of various commercial enterprises are being executed jointly. In comparison with the originally planned individual measures, 8 million marks' worth of means of investment, 114 jobs and one-third of the planned area can be saved. These examples show how wide in this sphere alone is the field of activity of local people's representations for tapping reserves for the benefit of all. The reason why the people's representations have such great responsibility in this is that they have the best perspective both as regards the tasks to be fulfilled and as regards the possibilities of the cooperation of forces in the territory.

#### To Direct the Citizens' Eyes Beyond the Local Borders

This is true not only of our people's representations in the large cities but to a full extent of the elected state organs in the towns and communities in the countryside. Impressive and visible to all are the results which have come about through good cooperation between towns, communities, enterprises and collectives of agriculture. They are modernized housing, new installations for children, renovated country inns and much more.

This communal work has again stood the test in this year's complicated grain harvest. In all work of the harvest the close collaboration of the local people's representations and their organs with the crop production enterprises proved itself. Our representatives were also in the forefront in this difficult period. Long before the harvest did they consult about the pending period of maximum effort in the party groups of the people's representations.

In the Beeskow Kreis, e.g., the comrade representatives of the towns and communities agreed to point out more strongly in political mass work to all citizens, with the aid of practical facts, the advantages of socialist communal work. This also includes directing the eyes of the citizens more strongly than heretofore beyond the local borders, to the processes of development in the communal association and the kreis. More than before, the comrade representatives want to contribute to the population being well informed about developments in its locality and in the communal association. In this way the comrade deputies have promoted and further deepened the conscious participation in planning and work by the citizens.

The political work in the state organs confirms time and again the following: The social effectiveness, authority and activity of the local people's representation and their organs to a large degree depends on the manner in which our party manages to use them in the further enlistment of the citizens, in developing their energy and initiative for the purposeful execution of the policy of the ninth party congress. This requires that kreis headquarters exercise an even more effective influence on the political content of the work of people's representations. What is at stake is constantly to insure the political leadership of the people's representations and its organs.



## Analysis of the Representatives' Effectiveness

The secretariats of numerous kreis headquarters therefore regularly analyze the level of the political-ideological work of the comrade representatives. They look into the manner in which the comrade representatives fulfill their party mission for political work with the masses, maintain contact with the electors, explain to them the party policy and enlist the citizens in sharing actively in the work of the enterprise and residential area. They also check how the comrade representatives care for the problems of the workers and regularly meet their duty of accountability. It is also important to know what influence the representatives exercise on questions which have become topical, whether they uncover shortcomings boldly and fundamentally and participate constructively in the solution of problems, but also whether their proposals are heeded by local functionaries in the state apparatus and in the enterprises.

An evaluation is also made of the manner in which the demand of the ninth party congress is being fulfilled for interesting, lively and critical conferences of the people's representations and commissions, of whether the checks on the implementation of the decisions proceeds systematically and whether not time and again merely new decisions are reached about the same problems. They [sic] exercise influence on the reports at the people's representations becoming substantive, briefer and more interesting so that enough time is left over for discussion and representatives' questions. In the party groups of the people's representations and in consultations with their secretaries, these problems are evaluated. Such meetings generally turn into a lively exchange of experience and are primarily an effective aid for those representatives who are still new in their activity.

Generally the first secretaries of kreis headquarters personally see to the political qualification of the secretaries of the party groups of the people's representations. Several times a year they consult with them about basic questions of our policy and their implementation in the territory. This concerns such questions as these: The growing responsibility and improvement of the quality of the activity of the local people's representations in the further formation of a developed socialist society; the socialist communal work among towns, communities and enterprises and the resulting tasks for the people's representations; the development of industry and agriculture in the territory as well as investment policy. In many a place it is worthwhile for secretaries of bezirk and kreis headquarters in the party groups of the people's representations to explain topical political questions and party decisions, point up economic connections and deduce therefrom requirements for the sphere of responsibility of the people's representations. Likewise it already goes without saying in most kreises, towns and communities or communal associations that comrade representatives from each people's representation belong to the respective party aktiv.

### Comrades Fulfill Their Party Mission Conscientiously

Such purposive political leadership of the leading party organs enables the local people's representations to reinforce the public in its work, in the activity of the councils and commissions. Thus the citizens of every kreis, every city and community can also constantly and surely be informed more comprehensibly about all important questions of the work of their elected organs of power and councils and can be enlisted more persuasively in active work in solving the tasks to be fulfilled.

The exemplary activity of the comrades who carry out the mandate of our party as representatives and fulfill this party mission conscientiously contributes greatly to the local people's representations and their organs become increasingly effective as an important political tool of the working class for the realization of its leading role and the policy of alliance in the formation of a developed socialist society.

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CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

WORKERS' PROTECTION DECREE PUBLISHED

[Editorial Report] East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 36, 14 December 1977, pages 405-411, contains the text of the ASVO [Workers' Protection Decree], dated 1 December 1977 and issued by the GDR Council of Ministers. This decree is broken down into the following sections:

- I. Functions of the enterprise manager and executive employees in connection with workers' protection;
- II. Functions of ministerial-level personnel and chairmen of local councils with respect to industrial safety and workers' protection;
- III. Safety inspectors and safety inspections;
- IV. Control of health protection and industrial safety by the FDGB and government organs;
- V. Grievance procedure;
- VI. Disciplinary penalty regulations;
- VII. Concluding provisions.

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## EAST GERMANY

### COOPERATION BETWEEN COLLEGES, ENTERPRISES DESCRIBED

East Berlin PRESSE INFORMATIONEN in German No 145, 8 Dec 77 p 2

[Article by Harry Groschupf, deputy minister for university and technical school affairs: "Scientists From Colleges and Industry Intensify Cooperation"]

[Text] A close cooperation between colleges and industry in the field of research and development is a practice which has been carried on for a long time and which is being increasingly emphasized. The decisions of the Ninth SED Party Congress and the subsequent meetings of the central committee have been leading to an ever deepening understanding among college instructors and students, scientific collaborators, workers and employees in the universities, colleges and academies of the key role of scientific-technical progress in a further rise in economic output. Their feeling of responsibility for progress in science, technology and production is also growing.

In this process a close socialist joint work with enterprises, combines, and scientific installations of social practice has been developing, cooperative relations have been strengthened, and a creative atmosphere of exchange of scientific opinion and experience promoting scientific-technical progress has been unfolding. What is new in the present stage of development is that in this interaction of science and practice, qualitatively new features in the solution of tasks in the acceleration of scientific-technical progress are standing out more sharply. This is displayed, for example, in the growing understanding among scientists and practical workers for the necessity of unified planning of basic research, applied research and development of tools or processes and of the joining of scientific forces together to achieve it.

#### A New Process for the Chemical Industry

In this way it was possible in a relatively short period to develop a completely new process for the fibrillation of foils of polymer mixtures in cooperation between the chemical section of the Dresden Technical University and the Schwarza "Wilhelm Pieck" Chemical Fiber Combine--based on basic theoretical work on product-oriented applied research and

development over several years. Protected by patents and tested 1976 in a pilot plant, this process now makes possible greater use of secondary raw materials in its industrial application. It makes possible a considerable increase in work productivity and contributes essentially to the raising of consumer goods production, for example, in the manufacture of carpets with high use qualities. Scientists and engineers from colleges and industry were awarded the national prize in 1977 for this achievement.

The combining of the scientific forces of the colleges, the academies and industry into joint research collectives, or in other words concentration for the solution of economically decisive tasks in the attainment of maximum production of manufactures and technologies, is a further qualitatively new sign of the development of science and technology in our republic. Thus, for example, were formed research collectives composed of scientists, engineers and technicians of the "Carl-Schorlemmer" Technical College at Leuna-Merseburg and the Wolfen state enterprise film factory, a photochemical combine, to strengthen research laying the scientific groundwork in the field of information storage materials. Joint research groups of colleges and industry are being formed in the field of microelectronics at the Karl-Marx-Stadt Technical College, the Dresden Technical University, the Ilmenau Technical College and the Dresden Engineering College. It will thereby become possible to accelerate the pace of development, to link theoretical research closely with development of products and processes, and to shorten considerably the time intervals of the transition of new scientific knowledge into industrial practice.

#### Interdisciplinary Research Work

Science has been assigned the urgent task of creating a long-term scientific preparation and of working out complex solutions for social problems which are coming to a head. Interdisciplinary scientific work thereby gains greatly in importance. A good example of the correct approach to this task is now being shown by scientists, engineers, and students in the Cottbus Engineering College. Scientific-technical solutions for the reconstruction of old inner city building areas are being devised through work on the complex "wall skeleton construction method." Engineers, social scientists, mathematicians, and natural scientists are working on this in order to produce complex urban-constructional and architectonic and socioeconomic solutions. This interdisciplinary research work is linked with close cooperation of colleges and construction practice. The creation of the scientific-technical groundwork of tasks with which we must increasingly concern ourselves in the years after 1980 is closely bound with the development of new solutions for a harmonious linkage of housing construction with social installations.

New paths are also being opened up in the intensification of research work and in the acceleration of the pace of achievement of high scientific results through the formation of joint cooperation associations among colleges,

institutes, academies and scientific laboratories in industry. Such cooperation was first developed in Freiberg and in Karl-Marx-Stadt, particularly for the better utilization of valuable scientific devices, for joint work in computer centers, in the field of scientific information and documentation, and in economizing on materials. Following these examples such joint associations are now being created in additional towns and areas of the GDR.

The development of joint socialist labor among scientific institutions at a high level of cooperation not only brings about greater effectiveness of research, more rapid and broader application of its results in social practice, a lasting influence of science and technology on the production of internationally marketable top quality products according to advanced technologies and processes. It also possesses primary importance for the training of new scientific staff in colleges and universities. It is of decisive influence on an education which is theoretically demanding and closely bound to actual practice, and on Communist education of the students and young scientists.

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EAST GERMANY

INFANT MORTALITY DECLINES, BIRTH RATE UP

East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1202 GMT 11 Dec 77 DW

[Rudi Singer's answers to listeners' questions]

[Excerpts] Up to 25 percent of the expectant mothers are receiving inpatient care weeks and even months prior to delivery to avoid risks in childbirth. This is one of the factors which contributed to the decrease in infant mortality from 14 per 1,000 last year to 12.9 per 1,000 during the first 8 months of this year, and in the mortality of mothers to less than 2 per 1,000. This comprehensive care continues with regular medical care for the infants in the 11,300 maternity centers to the accommodation in nurseries and kindergartens of 900,000, or 75 percent, of the 1.2 million children up to age 6 whose mothers have full-time jobs.

In 1975 the birth rate was slightly above that of 1973. In 1976, 13,685 children more were born than a year earlier, and in the first 6 months of this year the number of births increased by about 14,000 over the comparable period of the preceding year, and even by 20,000 over 1975. The trend is pointing upward. Surely this is essentially attributable to the additional sociopolitical measures of May last year, to the 6 months of paid maternity leave now granted, the possibility of paid exemption from work until the first birthday of the second and every additional child. The fact that the 40-hour workweek has taken effect for about 300,000 mothers having a full-time job likewise fits into the concern of our state for the children, a state in which, as is generally known, more than 8 out of 10 women hold jobs.

CSO: 2300

## HUNGARY

### BUDAPEST PARTY SECRETARY APPRAISES PARTY WORK

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Dec 77 p 5

[Interview by Jozsef Solyom with Imre Katona, first secretary of the Budapest party committee: "With Healthy Impatience"]

[Text] During the more than two and a half years which have passed since the 11th party congress the party organs and organizations have acquired rich experiences in executing the resolutions of the congress. These experiences bring to the surface the characteristic properties of the party's style of work too and a sober evaluation of these properties provides an occasion for increasing the effectiveness of our work as a whole. The bodies of the elected party organs, especially, are turning great attention to an analysis of these experiences since they are called on to spread the best methods and thus to aid the work of the organizations. At its most recent session the party executive committee for Budapest carried out such tasks. So there was talk about a many-layered sphere of problems, in a most critical and self-critical manner. There was considerable discussion during the debate about tasks for improving the style of work. We talked about this with Imre Katona, first secretary of the Budapest party committee.

[Question] On the basis of what perceptions did you analyze your work?

[Answer] In the first place I would like to note that we are talking in a building every wall of which is sprinkled with the blood of communists who were faithful to our ideals and to their historic mission to their last breath in the defense of the worker-peasant power and our socialist achievements. We can never forget this as long as we live. I say with this same conviction that since the 11th congress our party has been able to live up to its mission in Budapest in the same way; it plays its leading role in the building of socialism in a manner worthy of a Lenin party; it serves the interests of the worker class and of the people faithfully and successfully. The development of the capital and the development of the fate of the people living here are graphic proof of this. I do not want to burden you with statistical data, with the economic achievements of our enterprises. Everyone can see the development of Budapest and I think that we are all



happy about the new metro lines, about the beautified Rakoczi Ut houses and about the fact that each year tens of thousands get homes which are worthy of people of this age. But an achievement as valuable as any is the fact that in this city year after year hundreds of thousands can get modern training and richer culture and that no fewer than 400,000 become acquainted with the Marxist world view in an organized form. The communists of Budapest, our party organizations united with the populace of the capital, have struggled hard for these successes.

[Question] I understand that you speak with pleasure of our achievements, but it puts me at a disadvantage. After such successful work can I speak with any emphasis about problems?

[Answer] I see no contradiction in the fact that despite the achievements we should try to work even better and more successfully. Because this is what is involved. I might explain this need with a characteristic of the communists. We--and I hope all of us--are undeniably characterized by a unique yet healthy unrest and eternal dissatisfaction. I might be truer to say that life forces us to discover our faults and deficiencies and to try devotedly to overcome them. We live--this is the historical reality--in a one party system. This means that we must undertake the obligation and the responsibility to be our own critics. I believe that our increasing political sensitivity to our own deficiencies follows, not at all accidentally, from this circumstance. This also prompts us to examine our work and our style of work under the magnifying glass.

[Question] Could you indicate where and in what respects improvement is needed in methods of work and in style of work?

[Answer] After the defeat of the counterrevolution the party restored the validity of the Lenin norms and our methods of work and our style of work have been formed in accordance with these. But this did not take place over night; rather, it took place in the midst of difficult struggles on two fronts. But we would be committing an error and we would be deluding ourselves if we were to believe that we have reached the end of our struggles. It is a fundamental truth that politics at all times decisively defines the style of work of the party and this then has an effect on the execution of policy. This dialectic unity, however, is not realized automatically. It is always a task to adjust, in the course of execution, our style of work to the given policy too. An erroneous style of work could inadvertently distort policy too, and could prove an obstacle to good and useful ideas. I might add to these general lessons, on the basis of our own experiences, that it would be a serious mistake to believe that we could successfully carry out a good policy independent of this, with a bad style of work. This is just as untrue as it is to think that good goals sanctify every means. No goal can justify dishonorable methods.

To return to the original idea, an unceasing improvement of our methods of work and our style of work is not a campaign but rather our constant task in the service of a principled, good policy. Naturally, on the occasion of a conversation of this character it is impossible to strive for a complete evaluation. I mention only as an indication that the weak point of our work is the concrete and creative local, Budapest, application of central resolutions.

This experience, which can be called more or less general, is graphically suggested, for example, by the odd situation with which we met in execution of the resolution dealing with manpower supply problems. We could point to our modest achievements, but realization often ran into procrastination. I mention this problem also because this is an especially serious problem for Budapest. Everyone who is interested in a solution of this problem recognizes this in words; indeed, they speak with profound respect of the correctness of the central decision. But still, perhaps without meaning to, they select phrases and slogans from the higher level decisions because they are not acting effectively everywhere. What is needed is not honors but deeds. But the precondition for this is that at every level of party life, and especially at the crucial points, at the level of execution, in the party primary organizations, they not only repeat the central decisions but rather that they carefully think out and designate their own tasks and then actively implement the resolutions.

For example, they should recognize in their own environment which jobs are superfluous, should make efforts to abolish them and should give a helping hand to and provide political security for the economic leaders giving the orders. Of course, this is a more difficult task than voicing phrases; it demands determination, an assumption of responsibility and an open political stand. And naturally it also demands unvarnished, comradely debates for without these it is impossible to formulate an initiative-taking position. Unfortunately we find not rarely that a better solution is made difficult or is delayed by the fact that a substantive clash of views of this nature is lacking in the primary organizations. It is as if some feared that a possible rejection of their opinions would be a political failure or personal defeat.

[Question] If I understand you correctly you are urging courageous, outspoken debates in the primary organizations of the party which will ultimately lead to the designation of rational tasks. It is your opinion that no one needs to fear being worsted in these debates. Let me ask you, has it ever happened that you personally have found your opinion to be the minority one on such an occasion, in the midst of debate, when a decision is being made in the meetings of the Budapest party executive committee?

[Answer] Yes, it has happened. And I consider this natural. It certainly would not be natural for me to think that only my position could be the correct one in every question. He who believes, however, that a difference

of opinion destroys the prestige of the leadership does not understand the essence of our policy. I think that he might be anything, a good expert or even a member of the party but he is not a communist leader if he does not tolerate a contrary opinion, that people vote against him when it is time to vote, if he tolerates his subordinates to flatter him, kowtow to him and fawn before him. Such a leader, who surrounds himself with bootlickers, errs in the most fundamental question. We say that our most important goal is the uplifting of man. So what can communists have in common with one who tolerates the humiliation of anyone because of him, for the sake of momentary tranquility?! It is our obligation, as communists, to struggle against such behavior. But I think we have wandered from the theme.

[Question] I do not believe that we have wandered from the essence of our conversation. Even less do I think--and I say this with conviction--that the Budapest communists are indifferent about learning how the first secretary of the party committee feels about these problems. But it sounded a little one-sided when you earlier faulted exclusively the primary organizations because they often merely repeated the central decisions. It is a fact that this situation must be changed but I think that it would be more equitable to start here.

[Answer] I did not fault the primary organizations for the essence of our problems! Our every success can be attributed to the fact that the party members of Budapest represent an organized political force which is capable of mobilizing hundreds of thousands of honest people with good intentions to overcome even the most difficult problems. If I were to see problems only in the style of work of the primary organizations then I would really be underrating the honest and often self-sacrificing integrity of thousands and thousands. I was indicating that point to which we must finally come in improving our style of work. But the responsibility for this task is primarily that of the elected leading bodies and their members and thus mine as well. I emphasize this because in my opinion there is no impersonal leadership--not even in the elected bodies!--and it does no harm for all of us to remember this well when accounts are to be rendered concerning tasks. Of course, we must give substantially more help to the more effective work of the primary organizations. For example, we should not regulate their activity to death with too many obligatory agenda points; we should give them more time to develop in real debate the local tasks deriving from central resolutions and they should have more energy and time to organize and supervise execution.

Let me only mention that the Budapest party committee meets at least five times per year, the party executive committee meets 24 times and we pass quite a few resolutions at our meetings which are obligatory tasks at every level of our party life. So we should select better between the important and the less important. We should not become practical managers because we should deal more with organizing execution, with utilization of the lessons of experience, with people.

It unjustifiably increases the burdens of our party committee and of its party organizations that the division of labor among us is not always suitable, or the division of labor among various state and social organs and organizations. This also is a problem of our style of work. It is our conviction that our view in this regard should flow into our entire public life. So in connection with improving the style of work we must look outside the party too. I feel that we have much to do on this point especially.

[Question] According to this the demand for an improvement in the style of work is not only an internal party matter?

[Answer] Indeed it is not! I think it never does any harm to emphasize that the party is called to serve the people. In my opinion, however, we must say more often and with greater determination that the state also, and all its institutions, are called to serve the people. And I mean by this not only respect, for our state also serves the people well if it realizes socialist obligations and rights together and maintains adequate economic order and civil discipline. We cannot ignore the fact that an unending improvement of work methods and style of work is also an obligatory task in the state institutions. Surveying the present stage of our development I believe I would not be in error if I said that we must proceed more swiftly, for example, in simplifying the conduct of business and in curtailing the signs of bureaucratism. We often find symptoms that warn us that we should act with even more determination to strengthen and defend the socialist aspects of our public life.

[Question] What sort of cases are you thinking of?

[Answer] For example, I feel that a sort of pathological "legalism" is beginning to spread. I am thinking of situations in which not only our chief goals but even the written and unwritten laws of socialism are being forced into the background and degraded. We can see, for example, the large number of suits between our enterprises. Unfortunately this becomes, not rarely, through a distortion of the laws, through tactics, a matter of who defeats whom. So the goal is not to clear up some misunderstanding or to discover the objective truth, not even to speak of the fact that not one new product will come out of this tricky legalizing, that it only wastes time and energy. Often the situation is even worse if some citizen is forced by his fate to take his troubles from office to office. Sometimes they are treated heartlessly. We cannot acquiesce in this because these people, when their affairs are being taken care of at the council, in the ministry, by the police or courts, are coming into direct contact with the state of the worker class. This power cannot regard those turning to it with their troubles as computer code numbers, as a group, as a pile of documents. They should not be dealt with by forms written in a wooden languages which often cannot be understood even by normal intelligence.

[Question] I imagine you are not basically faulting the simple officials for such adverse phenomena?

[Answer] Naturally not. I spoke of phenomena and I would like it very much if we did not generalize categorically in such respects. I am convinced that the great majority of those working at such jobs carry out their tasks with diligence and honor. Often obsolete regulations or faulty official systems force them to behave in a bureaucratic manner. And so I say that more courageous, swifter changes are needed. But we should recognize that frequently there is something wrong with the attitude of the officials too in judging various cases and matters. When the paragraphs are being applied, when there is a need for an a possibility for deliberation, then a defining role is played by who acts on the basis of what view. A good example of this is provided by the calvary of three people which was shown on the television program titled "Legal Cases." I am thinking of how an official saw nothing extraordinary in the slandering of the honor of a working woman; of how one person was discharged four times in one year because he dared to criticize his superior; of how the unfortunate accident of a street sweeper could become the subject of legal disputes. Unfortunately, these cases prove an attitudinal deformation too.

I hope that it is now better understood why we are striving to improve work methods and style of work in the broader sense, not only within the party. I am certain that favorable changes in the spirit of the 11th congress must follow--if at the price of further struggle and clashes. You can now justly ask: Whence this self-assurance, why am I certain and have no doubts that we will succeed in changing everything which must be changed? And I say that I have at least three good reasons to feel this way. In the first place I have faith in our policy. In that policy which has been followed for more than 20 years, which has not only ignited but which has again fanned into flame within us our faith in our ideals and in our own strength and made us capable of renewal.

But in addition my self-assurance is nourished by the fact that communists are living and working everywhere, people who are incapable of tolerating that conditions or phenomena alien to our ideological convictions or harmful to the socialist ideal of humanism should take root in our environment. The recognition of problems forces all of us to take the same side and to take joint action. Last, but not least, our own efforts are also a source of my confidence; having discovered our deficiencies we are consciously striving to constantly improve our style of work and adjust it to the present needs of politics. It is not possible that our efforts and the spirit of them should not flow into our public life as a whole, through the party members, the communists everywhere, into all areas of state and economic work. This would contradict the natural order of our entire life. It is obvious, however, that it is primarily we--the members of the party--who must give life to and nourish everywhere the changes tending in the correct direction. We have done our job thus far and hereafter also we will do what must be done!

HUNGARY

CONTROVERSY OVER SUMMONS FOR 'SOCIAL WORK' REPORTED

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 5 Nov, 3 Dec 77

[5 Nov 77 p 9]

[Text] Summary Justice

Numerous students at the Gyula Juhasz Teachers' College in Szeged received this summons:

"Since you absented yourself without cause from the September social work, on instructions from the Comrade Director General I am summoning you before the Student Disciplinary Examining Committee.

"You are requested to appear at...o'clock on 26 Oct 1977 in Room 122 (main building, first floor, on the right). Should your absence from the work have been for an acceptable reason, bring credible written documentation of that with you. If you will miss a class at the time of the hearing, you will receive a note of excuse.

"Date, seal, signature (...college professor, President of the Student Disciplinary Examining Committee)."

The summons was duplicated in 180 copies, and the frightened defendants appeared at half-hour intervals in groups of 15 before the four-member summary court. Of course, at the time of the drafting of the summons the court already knew that these work-shirkers endangering public order "absented themselves without reason" from social work--which, as is generally known, is voluntary! --and, accordingly, provided the supplied documentation (medical excuses, etc.) with brief oral commentaries. The written documents of the defense were withheld for a re-examination of their credibility. No executions have occurred as yet, but they held out the prospect of a decimation of scholarships.

And so forth, resolutely. Semper statuare. M. P.

[3 Dec 77 p 2]

[Text] Once More About Summary Justice: Reply to M. P.

In the 5 Nov 1977 issue of ELET ES IRODALOM, M. P. appraised the fall agricultural work of the students at the Gyula Juhasz Teachers' College in Szeged. This appraisal was received at the college with indignation, but it came to be felt that M. P. had been misled. This is proven by the way he expresses his views about the question; his writing is characterized by complete ignorance. Thus the indignation is not directed against him, but against the person falsely informing him, who remained as similarly benighted as M. P.

Man commences when he starts to work, that is, to perform labor. Socialist man commences when he undertakes the work voluntarily, free from compensation.

Socialist society guarantees work, full employment, for every person, which is unconditionally necessary for achieving a minimum level of subsistence, for satisfying the fundamental needs of life. This, of course, is only one side of the question; the other is that the performance of labor is also an obligation of every citizen.

The top-priority task of the pedagogue is education for work. If someone does not complete his work satisfactorily, or avoids required work, he obviously must be called to account. He who defends such elements out of ignorance commits a pardonable error. But he who, in possession of the facts, sticks to his position, can no longer be excused. What does M. P. want to prove? Whom is he obstinately defending? Those, not even 1 percent of the students of the Teachers' College, who would have a place neither in the KISZ nor in the college. Why does ELET ES IRODALOM give space to such an excusatory piece of writing? Would it not have been simpler if M. P. admitted his ignorance?

In the present world, which is not free from crisis, the socialist countries, and thus our country, as well, must resolutely struggle to raise the standard of living. This can be achieved only by the consistent organizing and development of social work. In this, obviously, all of us agree. Whom is M. P. supporting in this struggle, from ignorance or obstinacy? Undisciplined petty-bourgeois elements.

Let M. P. come before the college with his position. Will he dare to do it? Public opinion of the college would condemn him unanimously, students and professors alike. Socialist society cannot permit someone to publicly defend slackers. Only by hiding behind the initials M. P. may an opinion like this be expressed. Dr Sandor Forizs, college lecturer. Szeged, 28 November 1977.

We have published lecturer Dr Sandor Porizs' letter in full, without any stylistic or grammatical corrections, and with this we, on our part, have concluded the debate connected with our commentary entitled "Summary Justice." Our opinion is the following:

1. Our commentator was not misled and was not falsely informed. M. P. was not appraising the fall work of the college, but was evaluating a disciplinary proceeding. She quoted word for word from a text, duplicated in 180 copies, which was sent to the defendants (would they be that certain "1 percent"?). Nor does Dr Sandor Forizs call the authenticity of the quotation into question.
2. The expression social work figures in the quotation which, in common knowledge, is connected to the idea of volutarism. Compulsory social work--of which Dr Sandor Forizs also speaks--does not exist; it being a logical contradiction, and, at the same time, a political delusion which leads to antidemocratic practice.
3. Under the catch-word elements, it is customary to speak of recidivists, counter-revolutionaries, and terrorists. Not of truant schoolboys.
4. Dr Sandor Forizs writes that in our country a raising of the standard of living can be achieved only by the development of social work. He assumes, moreover, that all agree in this. When, in fact, we do not agree with this at all because this is economic nonsense. And it is likewise a political delusion.
5. "Work-shirker" is a legal category; it designates the perpetrator of a well-defined act. On the other hand, there is also a legal category that refers to the irresponsible use of such words.
6. M. P. is not hiding behind a literary sign. According to press traditions, we frequently do not sign commentaries with a full name, but we take full responsibility for it. The name of the writer of the incriminated commentary is not a state secret--her name is Magda Palko. A columnist for VILAGOSSAG. The Editors.

8971

CSO: 2500



ROMANIA

DELEGATE ADDRESSES AUSTRIAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS

Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 10 Dec 77 AU

[Text] Within the framework of the 23rd Congress of the Austrian Communist Party which is taking place in Vienna, Comrade Miu Dobrescu, candidate member of the Executive Political Committee of the RCP Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Socialist Culture and Education and the representative of our party at the congress, took the floor.

On this occasion, he extended warm greetings to the participants, as well as sincere wishes on behalf of the RCP, its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and on behalf of the working people in Romania. The speaker stressed that his participation in the Austrian communists' congress is an expression of the feelings of friendship and solidarity which our party holds for the Austrian Communist Party in the struggle to defend the basic interests of the workers class and of all Austrian working people; he reasserted the determination to continue the effort to expand relations between our parties.

The RCP representative stressed that in the spirit of joint documents signed at summit level, Romania will continue to act to expand and diversify the sound relations with Austria both at a bilateral level and in the international arena, in keeping with the interests of the two peoples and the cause of cooperation, detente, security and peace in Europe and throughout the world.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

RCP MESSAGE CONVEYED TO MPLA CONGRESS BY STANESCU

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 8 Dec 77 p 8 AU

[Text] Luanda, 7 Dec (AGERPRES)--The proceedings of the First MPLA Congress is continuing in Luanda.

The RCP representative, Comrade Ion Stanescu, RCP Central Committee secretary and deputy premier of the government, conveyed to all the party activists, to the congress participants and to the friendly Angolan people a warm, friendly message on behalf of the RCP and its secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, as well as best wishes for complete success in their struggle to defend and consolidate national independence and in the masses' efforts to build a new and prosperous Angola, and in the struggle for the triumph of the general cause of international peace, freedom, independence and understanding.

The RCP delegate then stressed our party's and state's concerns with developing and diversifying cooperation between Romania and Angola in political, economic, technical and cultural areas, and in international life; he emphasized the decisive importance of the meetings and talks between presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Agostinho Neto in Bucharest and in Africa for the ascending evolution of Romanian-Angolan relations, as the documents and conventions concluded on those occasions open up new prospects for expanding and diversifying the relations between the two countries and peoples.

The speaker then reviewed our people's activities to implement the decisions and the program adopted at the 11th Party Congress on building the comprehensively developed socialist society, and our party's and state's consistent efforts to develop ties of friendship, cooperation and solidarity, at various levels, with the socialist countries, with the developing countries and with the nonaligned countries, with all the states in the world, regardless of social system.

In current international life, the message added, the process of vast revolutionary national and social changes continues and is deepening. Thus, the African countries and peoples are emerging as a dynamic force of contemporary economic and social progress--alongside the other nations of the world--in the

struggle to eliminate the old policy of domination, inequity, force and diktat; for the right to determine independently their fate, to be absolute masters of their national resources and to utilize them for their own development in the struggle to promote new, democratic interstate relations based on trust, equality and mutual respect; and to finally eradicate colonialism and racism on this continent. The Romanian people supported and continue to actively support the African people in abolishing all imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policies and the policy of racial discrimination and apartheid and in their efforts to consolidate their political and economic independence and to insure their rapid and balanced development.

Endorsing the ideals of justice, freedom and social progress, our country is consistently demonstrating its active solidarity with the legitimate struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa for national and social liberation and for eliminating all forms of racism and apartheid. Romania extends its entire political, diplomatic, material and moral support to those peoples.

Proceeding from the urgent need to eliminate the use and threat of force from international relations and to settle hotbeds of tension and conflict by political means through negotiations, Romania believes that in order to surmount the complex problems that may emerge among African states--problems left over from the times of colonial oppression--it is primarily important to strengthen the unity and solidarity of all the recently liberated states, to end armed confrontations and to have differences settled peacefully by the respective peoples, without foreign interference.

The message stressed that Romania is actively militating for establishing a new world economic and political order, based on equitable relations among states, an order conducive to eliminating underdevelopment, to insuring more rapid socioeconomic progress for backward countries and to permitting those countries unimpeded access to modern scientific and technological achievements and their equal participation in the world flow of material assets--without discriminations or artificial barriers: these being essential conditions for strengthening international stability and for the socioeconomic progress of all the nations.

The message concludes with an expression of the RCP's desire to work to considerably expand the Romanian-Angolan relations of friendship and cooperation, for the benefit of both people and of the struggle for the victory of the cause of peace, national independence, freedom and social progress.

The RCP message was received with great interest by the congress.

CSO: 2700

## ROMANIA

### CONTROVERSY OVER SCIENTIFIC, PROFESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF DOCTORS

#### Doctors Protest Exaggeration of Curative Claims

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 21 Oct 77 pp 4, 5

[Text] We have received two letters, one from University Prof Dr Ion Chiricuta, director of the Cluj-Napoca Oncological Institute, and the other from Dr Nicolae Oprean, which responsibly discuss aspects of press reports regarding certain types of medical research in our country. Recognizing the seriousness of these problems, we have made room for these two letters in our newspaper.

Dr Chiricuta's letter:

In recent years, a number of journals have announced that "Romanian scientists" have found a cure for cancer. Very recently (29 September 1977), a journal published the following sentences on page 10: "An Epocal Declaration by a Romanian Scientist." The scientist supposedly had a new treatment (quote): "...with whose use one could save 100 percent of those afflicted with the first two stages of cancerous diseases. The treatment can also be applied to advanced stages of cancer, but not with the same high percentage of cure."

Two or three years ago, other journals wrote about another "man of science," using sensational titles like: "Plants Against Cobalt" for the cure of cancer, or "The Theory of Enzymatic Recovery, A Treatment for Cancer"--and other similar titles that were even more amazing. This "man of science" of two years ago even agreed to give interviews to some television stations in a western European city. These same journals applauded the interviews as the affirmation of our science abroad.

I must note that both of these "scientists," prior to publishing their statements in the newspapers, had sent their materials to the Cluj-Napoca Oncological Institute. To one "scientist" (the one noted in the 29 September publication), the Scientific Council of our institute responded that the

materials that had been forwarded could be summed up in one grandiloquent sentence: there is no experimental basis or clinical proof for the material forwarded; there are shortcomings in its scientific report and its author is invited to the institute to discuss the problems with our specialists. We have not yet received an answer. We would be very happy if he would pay us a visit so we, too, could verify his new methods.

The other "scientist" (of 2-3 years ago) responded to our invitation to work in our institute to verify the efficiency of his methods. When he was introduced to the personnel at the institute, I personally told him that he was welcomed with full esteem and respect and that I would be glad to write his recommendation to receive the Academy's prize or even the Nobel Prize.

His story is a long one, but here is a summary: in addition to a total lack of understanding of the biology of cancer, which became clear to us along the way, all his clinical tests failed tragically without obtaining even the slightest trace of improvement.

Yet, these publications, after a period of silence, continued to assure those stricken with cancer that they could be cured. The reason they gave was that this citizen "scientist" had, in the meantime, changed his chemical formula. This caused many of the sick people at our institute to suddenly abandon their universally recognized scientific treatments (surgery, radiotherapy, chemotherapy and immunotherapy) and, caught up in a state similar to the one of the victims of "Morgan girl," to leave en masse to be cured, since that is what these journals promised--despite the fact that this citizen's tests had failed in our institute. I sent letters to the editorial staffs of these journals, as well as the conclusions of the Scientific Council of our institute and the negative results from the tests. I had a heated exchange of letters with the chief editors of one of these journals, asking them to also publish the views of the Cluj-Napoca Oncological Institute. Some did not even choose to reply: claiming that they are helping "the new," they have continued to publish news regarding miraculous "cures." Time has proven us right and "the new," helped by these journals, has proven to be a terrible fiasco. The price? Human lives.

I wonder why these unverified statements of certain alleged people of science are so easily published? Why are specialized institutes not consulted prior to publication in order to give the publisher the opinions of a group of specialists? Why is it that none of these cures ever appear in the journals of the medical associations so they can be discussed?

These journals must give more mature consideration to these problems; perhaps they do not publish reports about how to mine the Moon or the star Sirius (where any type of fantasy is allowed), but they categorically state that human cancers can be cured 100 percent. In this way, thousands of sufferers are misled by vital errors. These are people who could be saved totally or in part by the current state of science, but who stop their scientific treatments, many times with tragic results.

In no way should these journals be misleading in major public health problems such as cancer. At the same time, they devalue the notion of a "scientist" and the notion of Romanian scientific research.

We have very valuable scientific researchers who live in the spirit of modesty, sometimes anonymously, and who work silently and scrupulously in their laboratories, with self-sacrifice and a feeling of responsibility for the revolution of Romanian science. How much has been written about them? We have student science clubs in all the universities and there are workers science clubs for those who work in factory laboratories where new inventions are constantly appearing. How much has been written about these real achievements? How happy I am when I see these new inventions on television. While studying in his high school laboratory, a student from Bistrita discovered some interesting phenomena in the field of electricity. Another time, a petroleum worker was presented who had made some innovations that could save millions of lei in fuels. That's the way!

Why do we insist upon showing certain dubious aspects that are similar to the antics of circus clowns and not showing the true, serious, creative and shining truth of contemporary Romanian science?

Dr Oprean's letter:

Professional responsibility is a principal component of social responsibility. In our health education activities, we deal with a series of themes and problems related to disease prevention and health improvement in addition to combatting certain damaging practices such as: self-treatment, abuse of medicines, alcoholism, different erroneous and empirical practices, and so forth. We are concerned with our responsibility towards ourselves, then towards the medical profession and, certainly, towards the members of our society.

From my contact with sick people who have looked everywhere with all their efforts in order to regain their health, I have learned that many of them have also tried the "miracle doctors," after having learned about them in the press, by word of mouth, or from one person to the next. So, that which we are now noting is based upon a reality and not upon simple presumptions or opinions. Someone who was suffering from jaundice sought out a series of cures and consumed a great amount of tea and miraculous preparations offered by persons totally without any training. The result was disastrous. Forget about a cure and all the money spent; later, there was a gall stone operation and a four week stay in the hospital. Many sick people have told us that gastric or duodenal ulcers can be cured categorically because they read so in FLACARA and the accounts there are astonishing. Further, there is a center up in the Ardeal that is causing a true exodus of people--and naturally so because a person will do anything for his health. We looked into it. In fact, sick people from all over the country are making the trip to this center and it is a real ordeal to be seen, diagnosed and

treated in order to obtain the much desired cure. Recently, a friend showed me an article that talked about a product that cures renal and biliary lithiasis. Not long ago, another article promised and stated that the number one enemy of mankind, cancer, will be conquered. In another center in Ardeal, there was talk of a guaranteed cure for certain allergies which prompted a true exodus of people suffering from allergies. You had the impression that a new "fountain of curative waters" had been discovered. Here, some journals looked for the sensational and generated not only hopes, but also great migrations of sick people who, certainly, found out the truth in very quick order....

A great number of articles make popular a series of methods and promise miraculous cures. But, what is more harmful is the fact that a series of doctors, ignoring their professional responsibilities, fall under the spell of these claims and superficial successes. Declaring that they have numerous methods and secret medicines, they alert the press and the sensation is begun because, and I would be the last to find fault here, a person who is suffering will run to and grasp at any ray of hope.

Many of these are presented to us as misunderstood, wronged, dismissed and proscribed because of the envy of their colleagues. It is easy to place it all on the backs of those who "*invidia paiesima medicorum*." This was the case once and if it still exists in some places, then certainly the spirit of right and kindness of those responsible will know how to root out such a concept. The truth is, however, that we can find the explanation in the lack of responsibility of the doctors eager to make sensational claims and easy successes totally lacking scientific and human accuracy. On the other hand, we cannot overlook the shortcomings in the responsibilities of certain newspaper people.

Clearly, the real merits of a doctor must be valued and known. Moreover, the research of Romanian scientists must get priority audience. We have to know that discoveries can be made anywhere there exists science and conscience, respect for mankind and love from the homeland. But, the conscious verification of the results of scientific research must be carried out with a high sense of human, patriotic and communist responsibility. False claims, in the true sense of these words, have no place in medical science. Furthermore, in this field, one can no longer speak, today, of the achievements of a single person no matter how good or well-trained he might be since practice has shown us the power of collective work and the combined efforts of a number of factors. The researcher who makes miracles in the secrecy of his laboratory no longer exists in this age of technical and scientific progress.

It is wrong and immoral to slow down the creative elan of medical personnel but we must promote a critical and self-critical spirit of great responsibility and always promote those achievements which truly merit this title.

## Writer Defends Popularization of Innovations

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 10 Nov 77 p 11

[Letter to the editor of FLACARA from Al. Cerna-Radulescu in response to the letter by Dr Nicolae Oprean]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Chief Editor:

I was surprised to read in CONTEMPORANUL, number 42 of 21 October 1977, a letter by Dr Nicolae Oprean who, in the name of "professional responsibility," denounced publicly "the lack of responsibility of doctors eager to make sensational claims and easy successes totally lacking scientific and human accuracy" while taking a shot at "the shortcomings in the responsibilities of certain newspaper people" who are guilty of popularizing such cases.

Certainly, there are principles to which all persons of good faith ought to adhere. However, when you move to the enumeration of facts, even if only partially done, that prompted his journalistic zeal, Dr Oprean steps all over these principles, leaving them to hang as a simple, honorable front designed to hide illicit practices. In a context where there is talk of "miraculous teas and preparations offered by persons without any training," the author of the letter states that "many sick people have told him that somewhere duodenal or gastric ulcers are categorically cured" because, in the following sentence, the mysterious "somewhere" becomes "a center in the Ardeal" where "a true exodus of people is taking place." "The sick are making the trip...and it is a true ordeal to arrive there and be seen, diagnosed and treated...."

These statements are of a nature to raise questions for anyone who has known "that center in Ardeal." As is known, a boil is broken and cleaned with a scalpel, not merely tickled. As a result, it remains incomprehensible why the author of the letter surrounds "that center in Ardeal" in such an aura of secrecy and does not clearly state that he is referring to the Simleu Silvaniei city hospital. At this hospital, a team of doctors under the leadership of Dr Ioan Puscas has developed and applies a new treatment for gastric duodenal and piloric ulcers, a treatment recognized as such by the Ministry of Health in our country as well as by reputable medical circles abroad. The scientific announcement of this treatment, used experimentally upon thousands of sufferers, was published in 1975 in the journal "Medicina interna" [Internal Medicine], published by the Union of Medical Sciences Associations of the Socialist Republic of Romania, vol XXVII, nr 6, pp 441-448. If this treatment has shortcomings and errors in its scientific basis or deviates from the principles of medical practice, why has Dr Oprean, during the past 2 years, not felt duty bound by his sense of professional responsibility to make whatever objections and criticisms he feels are necessary known in the pages of medical journals? With regard to the statement in reference to the trip endured by the sick, the statement is at least a



non-truth resulting from the strange "documentation" of the author's letter: "we were told," "we looked into" and so forth, which show a totally personal concept of the notions of "responsibility" and "scientific accuracy." As one who, in September and October of this year, was a patient at the Simleu Silvaniei Hospital, where I had two large ulcers closed (one gastric and the other piloric)--the x-rays are proof, I feel obligated by the simple civic responsibility and respect for the truth to witness that, for nearly three weeks, I did not meet a single sick person from whatever corners of the country who had not been "seen and diagnosed" on the day they arrived, even if in order to accomplish this the head of the section had to spend 8 or 9 hours seeing patients, in addition to his daily research work and review of treatments given in the hospital.

There should also be a word said about popularization of these innovations through newspapers and journals having large circulation, popularization which Dr Oprean cond mns. After more than four decades of activities in the political, literary and cultural press, I think that I can recognize that sometimes it is possible for exaggerations to slip through in the columns of some publications, especially when they are dealing with such problems.

I thank you for the space you allowed me to have in reestablishing the truth.

Editor's note: The above letter was first sent to the journal CONTEMPORANUL, in whose pages Dr Nicolae Oprean's insidious opinions appeared. Since the editorial staff there did not appear to be receptive to this reply, Cernaradulescu, the recognized writer and author, asked our paper to publish his letter, which we are now doing.

8724  
CSO: 2700

PUBLICATION OF ARTICLE ON DEATH AROUSES CONTROVERSY

Bucharest REVISTA DE FILOZOFIE in Romanian No 3, May-Jun 77 pp 397-399

Critic Challenges Refutation of Theories

[Article by Andrei Crisan]

[Text] One actually wonders "Whom does it benefit?" upon reading the article "Philosophy of 'Death of Man,' 'Standard Bearers' of Humanitarianism," published in ERA SOCIALISTA No 8, 1977 over the signature of Dr Lucia Dumitrescu-Codreanu. This bewilderment certainly calls for accurate explanations.

It seems that in her article Lucia Dumitrescu-Codreanu intended to dispute with a number of past and present western nonmarxist philosophical schools and, of course, with some of their leading representatives. This is not at all uncommon. Our party's positions on the dialog with the nonmarxist theoretical trends are well known. For over a decade ago these fundamental positions became the theoretical support of the conception (as ideologically firm as scientifically creative) that the open struggle against reactionary, anticommunist ideas, whatever their origin, must be combined with promotion of a fertile exchange of ideas with contemporary nonmarxist theoretical thought, which cannot be said to be entirely in the service of anticommunism. We reject the actions of anticommunist ideology, yet we are convinced that victory in the offensive to win the consciousness of the working masses and the peoples belongs to the progressive, democratic and humanistic ideas, and especially the ideas of socialism and communism. The fight against reactionary ideas, whether they are political, philosophical, sociological or otherwise, must not place us in theoretical positions of an alarmist defensive and certainly not in the position of timorously abandoning the theoretical lucidity essential to any ideological judgment.

But to return to the above-mentioned article, what appalls the reader from the start is the obscure language used and the vocabulary borrowed at points from medical pathology, as if it were deliberately intended to preclude any possibility of pertinent philosophical discussion. Let us quote at random from the journalistic devices of this article: "... decline and collapse of man in modern civilization," "... alleged humanism grown on the gray and unhealthy fields

of distrust and adversity toward man," "... abandoning man in a tormenting vale of tears and offering him, as spiritual sustenance, the reheated remains of theological morality...", "... the sad and mournful epilog of a philosophy that has deserted man," "... the ways of humanization amputate man," "... the devouring Calvary of frail man, a muted lament in expectation of the inevitable end," "... an invasion of morbid conditions," etc.

And when we find the names of Sartre, Lacroix, Marcuse, Fromm, Foucault, Levi-Strauss et al. among the thinkers so abused in this outbreak of epithets and metaphors, we ask in amazement, is this the way to speak to partners of ideas the Marxist thinkers have been discussing in the last few decades? Should we encounter in the dishonoring thickets of this confabulation the names of prominent modern thinkers, even if they are idealists? Can the reader find it odd that the Romanian publishing houses "have dared" to publish translations from the works of these thinkers? (For one thing, we note that precisely in the days when Dr L. Dumitrescu-Codreanu was "disparaging" the representatives of the so-called Frankfurt School /who as we read in the article "announce the 'spiritual death' of the individual, caused by mental and cultural malnutrition, spiritual atrophy, amorality, muting of the critical consciousness, and cramming of the human spirit.."/ Herbert Marcuse's "Philosophical Writings" were appearing in our bookstores.)

Overcome by the "savor" of the harsh expressions, L. Dumitru-Codreanu displays by no means the same interest in the elementary scientific accuracy of her statements. The "mistakes" in her article, an article intended to "perfect" many thinkers of world renown, are of a kind to permanently disenchant anyone with a minimum of theoretical knowledge. Let us cite some specific examples from the text of this article. About Heidegger, for example, we read: "... 'The Fundamental Ontology,' a work deviously prepared over the last five decades..." But what at all informed person, outside the author, does not know that Heidegger never wrote any book with such a title, and that the term "fundamental ontology" refers no to a work but to the very nature of the German thinker's philosophical system. On the same page of the journal it is stated in criticism of Gabriel Marcel's thinking that his "humanism... is nothing but a camouflaged fideism." But the reader may wonder, why camouflaged fideism? It is known that Gabriel Marcel's philosophical thought is called "Christian existentialism," but this thinker never entertained the idea of "camouflaging" his fideism, so clearly and frankly expressed in all his works. One page further we find written doctus cum libro, "Personalists like Emmanuel Mounier and Jean Lacroix confront man with 'the possible attitudes in the face of failure' and conclude that it is impossible to realize the human 'person'." But how can this be? Personalism has been rightly reproached for subjectivist exacerbation of the historical-creative potentials of the person and undue generalization of the social-reforming role of the subject, a theoretical approach in conflict with the general trend of modern philosophical thought. But in view of this characteristic of their thinking, how could Mounier and Lacroix (idealists we repeat) conclude that "it is impossible to realize the human 'person'"? In the very first lines of his well-known work "What Is Personalism?" the Christian leftist philosopher Emmanuel Mounier (1905-1950) wrote, "A personalist civilization is one whose structures and spirit are oriented toward the fulfillment as a person of each of the individuals who compose it." ("Oeuvres," Paris, Ed. du Seuil, 1961, Vol I, p 523)

And finally let us discuss one more example, also illustrative of the author's "scientific competence." In reference to Jean Paul Sartre we read that he "... recognized that existentialism cannot be a humanism and that the only authentically humanistic philosophy of our time, the only philosophy that is not outmoded and vitally interested in the liberation of man is Marxism, the necessary framework of modern thought." And while it is a true and commonplace fact that Sartre often eulogized Marxism and even tried to assimilate certain Marxist ideas, how are we to believe that Sartre, an existentialist himself, renounced that philosophy in favor of Marxism? And the very page cited by the author (page 29) in his work "Critique de la raison dialectique" contains both eulogies and criticisms of Marxism and in no case the view the author attributes to Sartre to the effect that Marxism is "the only philosophy that is not outmoded."

A few years ago, in an exchange of ideas with an editor of the French Marxist publication "La Nouvelle critique," the veteran personalist Jean Lacroix illustrated by an anecdote the frailty of many of the criticisms that are made of Marxism in the West. They say a student, when questioned about a matter pertaining to Descartes, replied, "I do not know Descartes well, but I know very well how to combat him." And Lacroix concludes, "A joke that is symbolic in any case, but one that should not make us laugh but reflect: We are all more or less in the position of the student. Some do not know Marxism but are experts at combatting him." (See ERA SOCIALISTA No 13, 1973, p 58) Mutatis mutandis, does not this rule sometimes also apply to some reverse situations of Marxist criticism of nonmarxist or antimarxist ideas?

It is our right and duty as readers to be critical of the texts our journals offer us. And in this spirit of scientific responsibility we wonder what the author wanted to communicate to us by the very title of her article.

Probably deliberately, in order not to impair the "journalistic effect" she sought, the author avoids any express mention in her article of the fact that the principle of the epistemological nature of "the death of man" is of structuralist origin (it seems the expression as such is Michel Foucault's), and probably only by her own "original" extension of the meaning did she succeed in enlisting under the banner of the so-called philosophy of the "death of man" thinkers differing so much in both their philosophical orientations and ideological stands as Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, Heidegger, Sartre, Spengler, Marcel, Berdiaev, Foucault, Levi-Strauss, Marcuse et al. How gratuitous and erroneous such an act of philosophical criticism is appears from the author's statement alone that all these are one water and earth, both Berdiaev and Sartre, both Spengler and Foucault, both Nietzsche and Levi-Strauss, etc.

Even accepting the idea that all the thinkers the author mentions are false standard bearers of humanism (we assume the author meant humanism by "humanitarianism" in the title), it is still difficult to admit that from the standpoint of philosophical humanism or antihumanism all these thinkers "... under the guise of a false devotion to man act corrosively and divisively upon man's status and upon human dignity and worth."

Far be it from us to make of us defenders of nonmarxist western philosophy. But the author's attitude toward a number of outstanding nonmarxist western philosophers strikes us as downright frivolous and vulgarizing.

And the very first sentence of this article reveals the same lack of discrimination: "Careful examination of the variegated and diverse landscape of modern western thought reveals the suspect rise and alarming spread of a principle diametrically opposed to the humanist ideal of centuries of philosophy, namely 'the death of man'." Apparently even forgetting that impressive Marxist thinking as well as other progressive trends exist and act in "the variegated and diverse landscape of modern western thought," the author wants to convince us that the entire West is subject to nihilistic antihumanism and obsesses with the philosophy of the "death of man."

The author's reasoning on the subject of this central concept of the article copies the most facile and commonplace vulgarizations of the principles of historical materialism, so that all the thinkers she brings up can be reproached with idealistic positions and according to her "logic" it even follows that they are all false proponents of humanism and representatives of the philosophy of the "death of man."

But in the last analysis what is this philosophy or principle of the "death of man," which would unite Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, Heidegger, Marcel, Sartre, Spengler, Berdiaev, Maritain, Levi-Strauss, Marcuse et al. in a single conclave? Incredible as it seems, the author never defines this concept with the slightest clarity or any pertinent theoretical precision to inform the reader what the main ideas of this philosophy are. The author tells us only that "the philosophy of the 'death of man' collects its muddy waters from various philosophical schools and trends" and that "it is the ideological reflex of the crisis of the bourgeois order." But to agree with these general characterizations we would have to first determine the basic principles of this philosophy and whether they form any distinct or at all uniform doctrine as the article says.

To be sure we also find in the article the following characterization of the "death of man" philosophy: "In turn representatives of existentialism, neothomism and personalism, neofreudians and structuralists, pragmatists and phenomenologists will announce with a zeal worthy of a better cause the 'fall' of man from the pedestal erected by renaissance and illuminist thought" etc. But should not the author know that, from particular theoretical positions, Marxism has also criticized the theoretical model of man promoted by illuminism? Criticism of the ideology of renaissance and illuminist humanism or traditional rationalism is not in itself equivalent to antihumanism or to a bath in "muddy waters," as the author would say.

Through a strange theoretical strategy, the meanings of the "death of man" philosophy become so vague (since the author tries to characterize all nonmarxist philosophers as adherents of it) that the term actually loses all consistency.

Although she nowhere frankly asserts the structuralist origin of the "death of man" principle, L. Dumitrescu-Codreanu of course also includes the representatives of structuralism in her harsh criticisms.

But in this respect the originality of this article consists of entirely overlooking an elementary aspect of the problem under discussion, namely that anyone at all informed about the structuralist approach knows that the "death of

man" principle is an epistemological one and consequently involves the methodology of the social sciences, its theorists having no intention of promoting antihumanism to say nothing of antihumanitarianism. Foucault, for example, does not deny the worth of man as such but only the role of the idea of man and of humanist ideology in the current development of the science of man. Transformation of Althusser's "theoretical antihumanism" into "antihumanism" pure and simple would be even more absurd.

It is equally true that some one might also maintain that although the "death of man" has a predominantly epistemological status and not an axiological or political one, it nevertheless ultimately leads to antihumanism. But this conclusion, not entirely original either, must be substantiated quite differently than by attributing statements to the structuralists that they never made, beginning with that of "denial of man." No relevant thinking will ever ideologically identify Spengler and Berdiaev on the one hand and Foucault, Levi-Strauss or Althusser on the other.

It has certainly not been our intention here to defend the thinkers criticized by Dr Lucia Dumitrescu-Codreanu, since limited space did not permit any full discussion of the principles and ideas in the article we have discussed. Our immediate purpose has only been to bring out the entirely inadequate method to which the author resorted in her critical discussion of modern philosophy.

Marxists' philosophical criticism of other schools of thought must be an act of creative thinking and not a strident, sterile negation with the effects of a slogan.

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 18, Sep 77 pp 59-60

Author, Review Defend Article

/Article by Dr Lucia Dumitrescu-Codreanu and Editorial Board/

/Text/ Dear Chief Editor,

Please publish in ERA SOCIALISTA this letter concerning the note entitled "Cui Prodest" published in REVISTA DE FILOZOFIE No 3, 1977, since the article reviewed by the note in question was printed in your journal, where the said note should have appeared.

REVISTA DE FILOZOFIE No 3, 1977 contained a criticism over the signature of Andrei Crisan of the article "Philosophy of 'Death of Man,' Standard Bearers of Humanitarianism," published in ERA SOCIALISTA No 8, 1977 under the heading of "Acute Realities in the World of Capital."

Out of respect for the reader, whose good faith we feel has been betrayed, we must say that we found no rational grounds in the said note for any scientific dialog or any constructive exchange of views. Analysis of the subject matter of the above-mentioned article is replaced by labeling and unqualifiable qualifications, such as "alarmist defensive," vocabulary "borrowed from medical

pathology," "the dishonoring thickets of this confabulation," "frivolous and vulgarizing" attitude, "strident and sterile negation," etc.

But by substituting reason for insinuating, insulting abuse let us try to translate the objections in this note into intelligible terms.

My article tried to dissociate, by critical examination from the position of the committed Marxist researcher, the fideistic, mystic and dehumanizing implications of some western schools of thought. We express our disagreement and indignation with the position of principle implied in the judgment that the article, placed we repeat under the heading "Acute Realities in the World of Capital" (in which context are revealed not only the ideological but also the socioeconomic aspects of the crisis of capitalism), is a sterile negation of contemporary thought in the West. We feel the note in REVISTA DE FILOZOFIE lacks the necessary objectivity, seeming to appeal to a "commission for reconciliation" with idealism rather than advocating detailed analysis of philosophical thought.

The author of the note perpetuates a severely criticized practice. Instead of relating certain philosophical trends to the present realities of the capitalist world (coexisting of course with nonmarxist philosophical thought, itself controversial and aware of the spiritual impasse of this world), in which the dehumanizing, divisive aspects have been multiplied, he apparently clings to an idyllic, pedantically assimilated image.

We think the problems of philosophy are of interest to all members of our society and we have accordingly welcomed ERA SOCIALISTA's initiative in bringing the schools of modern thought, examined on the basis of the present crisis of the bourgeois order, to the tribunal of public discussion under both the above-mentioned heading and the other one entitled "Trends and Ideas." To be sure the workers in ideology are always faced with the major task of critically analyzing the idealist schools of thought. Obviously the act of criticism must always be flexible and nuanced and I do not think the contrary could have been concluded without tendentious distortion of our article.

As always when the truth is distorted, the author of the note himself is proven guilty, as an expert at the facile manner of fabricating a fictitious, caricatured adversary specially prepared "for execution." Gathering "at random" (as he himself attests) fragments torn from context, the author attacks not so much our article as his own image of this article. As far as we are concerned, we had no intention whatever of examining all modern philosophy, to say nothing of making judgments of exhaustive or complete validity. The article in ERA SOCIALISTA had the far more modest aim of illustrating the repetition of the subjects of death and despair in some western philosophical conceptions, interpreting, as is logical and natural, the respective conceptions in the light of the principles of historical materialism, as a reflex of the schisms and contradictions of capitalist society. And so the article (which we are not vain enough to consider "perfect" or "infallible") had its logic and a regulating idea, conforming to the discussions in our journals of the realities of the capitalist world and attempting to reveal one of the facets of the crisis of ideas in which the defenders of capitalist society find themselves. Without going into extasies over

their "reknown," I have caught a number of thinkers in a critical spotlight, reporting (perhaps I admit not always in suitable expressions) on their affiliations with various schools and on diversity within the same school. It is an amazing claim for us to have examined all modern schools comprehensively and in detail in a brief article (three pages of a journal) with a well-defined purpose. As for Heidegger's "fundamental ontology," this concept was not associated in the article with the word "work" (nonexistent in the manuscript and appearing because of a typographical error) in the sense of "book." But anyone objectively following the context of the sentence (which says that "fundamental ontology" was "deviously prepared in the course of the last five decades") would clearly understand that it refers to the philosopher's work as a whole. (In the "style" of the note in REVISTA DE FILOZOFIE and in accordance with the formulation that "...Herbert Marcuse's 'Philosophical Writings' appeared in our bookstores," could I not at least insinuate that A. Crisan was not informed that Marcuse did not write any book entitled "Philosophical Writings"?) Only a quarrelsome reader could attach importance to a typographical error and make an indictment of it (for lack of anything else).

As regards some judgments, I think A. Crisan errs if he imagines that Soren Kierkegaard, obsessed with "mortal disease," and Martin Heidegger, trying to equate the human being with "a being for death," cannot be included in the ideation of an article on "the death of man," since this is, as it says in the note, an epistemological principle that "involves the methodology of the social sciences, its theorists having no intention of promoting antihumanism to say nothing of antihumanitarianism." This principle is actually debatable, nor do we feel we can be satisfied with regarding the concept under discussion as having "a predominantly epistemological status," as A. Crisan tries to convince us.

Not to overlook "elementary aspects" of the question under discussion, as A. Crisan puts it, we note that Heidegger frankly disavowed philosophical humanism (see for example "Brief ueber den 'Humanismus'"), that he openly acknowledged that he was not interested in man but the Being, and that he described man as "a sentinel of nonexistence." And these are "aspects," merely mentioned, that contradict anyone who expresses disappointment when Heidegger is associated with philosophical trends that turn their backs upon humanism.

In writing "Far be it from us to make of us defenders of nonmarxist western philosophy," A. Crisan gives the philosophers under discussion certificates of good conduct according to their declared intentions and according to promises (he justifies Mounier merely because he makes a beautiful promise in one specially extrapolated quotation), and he "sanctions" us because we analyzed them not according to what we say or think about them but according to the backwardness of some of their ideas.

The "method" of criticism for the sake of criticism has led to substitution of fabrication for integrity, while statements are attributed to us that do not occur in the article in ERA SOCIALISTA. For instance it nowhere says that Sartre, an existentialist, "renounced this philosophy in favor of Marxism." In the same context it is asserted that the opinion that Marxism is the only philosophy that is not outmoded does not occur in Sartre's work "Critique de la raison dialectique" on the page we indicated in the article. The fact is that



this opinion, presented in the article not as a quote (we did not use quotation marks) but as a syntagma concentrating in essence a thought more extensively developed by Sartre, occurs precisely on page 29 of the said book. By way of illustration we transcribe the passage, wherein it says that Marxism "is therefore still the philosophy of our time. It has not been outmoded because the circumstances that gave rise to it are not yet outmoded. Our thoughts, whatever they may be, can be formed only on this ground. They must be included in the framework he provides or be lost in a void, or retrogress." But that is how undesirable situations arise in any circumstance and especially in journalism.

In conclusion we should like to suggest to the author in REVISTA DE FILOZOFIE that in the spirit of objectivity he not forget that we all have "the right and duty to be critical of the texts our journals offer us."

Editors' Note: In publishing Lucia Dumitrescu-Codreanu's letter, as a justified refutation of the distortion of her article in ERA SOCIALISTA by the signer of the note published in REVISTA DE FILOZOFIE, we feel some qualifications are necessary.

The text published in REVISTA DE FILOZOFIE was offered by Petru Berar to our editorial board, which did not agree to its publication in that form (nearly identical with that published in REVISTA DE FILOZOFIE over the signature of Andrei Crisan) because we proceed on the principle that exchange of ideas is fruitful only when arguments are contrasted and discussed in the spirit of objectivity and respect for the truth and in suitable language without insulting epithets and subjectivist labeling. It is self-evident that outbursts of subjectivism and distortion of the text reviewed impair any discussion and hinder clarification of the problems.

As anyone who looks through ERA SOCIALISTA No 8 will find, L. Dumitrescu-Codreanu's article was published under the heading "Acute Realities in the World of Capital" and was intended, as the explanatory introduction of the heading makes clear, to examine some aspects (on the level of philosophical thought) of the world crisis engulfing all capitalist society, a crisis accompanied by phenomena indicating the irreversible deterioration of bourgeois ideology. It is clear to the reader of good faith that Petru Berar's evaluation is far from true. Berar, pretending to gather "at random" expressions in L. Dumitrescu-Codreanu's article, considers it alarming (probably for a deliberate "journalistic effect") that he finds a "strange theoretical strategy" whereby L. Dumitrescu-Codreanu hoped to present "all nonmarxist philosophers" as adherents of the "death of man" philosophy.

It is significant Petru Berar did not "gather" even a single expression, proposition or sentence indicating that the author was combatting (justifiably and in accordance with the mission of a militant journalist) particular ideas, particular principles, particular representatives of schools of thought or in fact, in this connection, particular opinions of theirs, opinions that conform, as the author says from the beginning of her article, to "a philosophy that has deserted man."

The attempt to analyze the proposed subject (an attempt which neither our editorial board nor the author, as can be seen from the above letter, considers complete or exhaustive and which perhaps contains some formulations that are or seem to be insufficiently detailed) includes evaluations defining various trends in western philosophical thought. Since "it happened" that the signer of the note in REVISTA DE FILOZOFIE "overlooked" the formulations that contradict his opinions, we reproduce one of the final paragraphs of the article in ERA SOCIALISTA No 8: "The 'death of man' philosophy is the ideological reflex of the crisis of the bourgeois order and itself multiplies the alienating effects of the decomposition of this order upon the cultural horizon. But an exacting test of current western thought cannot overlook a significant aspect, namely the criticisms and protests leveled by some lucid thinkers against this order that dehumanizes man. Nor can the efforts be ignored of some western philosophers, more clearly or more widely manifested, to find "the lost path" to understanding man. In the Odyssey of these troubles Marxism's power of attraction and the strength of Marxist humanism are exerting their influence, and famous representatives of nonmarxist western thought have often recognized the vigor and viability of the Marxist theory of man."

To be "critical of the texts offered us in our journals," as Petru Berar says, does not mean to hurl a series of epithets and labels but to make an objective critical inquiry. This is one of the elementary requirements so that the fight against backward ideas will not be placed in theoretical positions either of an alarmist offensive or a strident, noisy offensive but will be always characterized by "the theoretical lucidity necessary to any ideological judgment," as Petru Berar writes at the beginning of his notes. But unfortunately he does not think this requirement applies to him.

Securing this climate suited to discussions of ideas and objective critical inquiry is a responsibility of all publications, including REVISTA DE FILOZOFIE, so that the exchange of ideas will be conducted on a highly principled level.

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COUNTERPROPAGANDA EFFORT IN ARMED FORCES DESCRIBED

Belgrade VOJNO DELO in Serbo-Croatian No 5, Sep-Oct 77 pp 76-86

[Article by Gen Maj Mirko Tomic: "Self-Protection as an Important Factor in Combating the Influence of the Enemy's Psychological Propaganda in the Armed Forces"]

[Text] It has been said many times already that the principal task of self-protection in the armed forces is in all its functions to safeguard the members of the armed forces and military entities against all types of enemy activity: intelligence, sabotage and terrorism, political subversion, psychological propaganda, etc., since all these activities--in terms of their ultimate goal and effects--constitute a unified whole and a phenomenon in which the individual forms, types and means are interwoven with one another, supplement one another and even replace one another. Intelligence activity, for example, furnishes data for all the enemy's other measures and activities, and sabotage and similar actions have their own impact as a form of psychological propaganda. That is why we cannot say that any type of threat to the achievements of our society or of particular vital values in the armed forces has greater importance or less importance (or represents a greater or lesser danger), nor therefore can we speak of the greater or lesser importance of combating particular forms of enemy activity. The degree of the danger and the importance of combating it is always determined by the concrete circumstances of the given moment and the particular social environment, that is, by the sensitivity of the specific environment to the particular type and content of enemy action. At this point we might paraphrase Lenin's well-known idea about the degree of danger from various types of nationalism: the most dangerous, Lenin said, is the one we are not combating. Much the same can be said of the particular aspects of enemy activity: the most dangerous is the one that escapes our vigilance and commitment.

It is in this context that we should examine all aspects of the effort against the impact of the enemy's psychological propaganda. As we have already said, that impact is an integral part of enemy activity as a whole, and it is only within that framework that it should be analyzed. However, when we are dealing separately with the specific features of the

effort in this "sector," there are two circumstances we should bear in mind: a) the constant increase in the volume and intensity of propaganda and in the power of propaganda\* as a form and weapon of class struggle, and b) the exceptionally great dependence of the other forms of activity on the results of an influence already exerted by means of political ideology and propaganda.

It is a fact that does not need to be proven that in recent decades the volume, intensity and capability of propaganda have been increasing constantly and rapidly both within particular societies and also on an international scale. General judgments have been made in this respect and they are fairly well known. We will merely recall a few facts.

1. The rapid integration and ever greater density of links in the contemporary world and--related to that--the ever larger scale and frequency of direct contact involving hundreds of millions of people on all continents. It has now become unthinkable as a practical matter for individual states and societies to be isolated from the rest of the world even when such attempts are made by administrative, repressive or other measures.
2. The tremendous development of the mass media (the press, radio, television, the film, music, etc.).
3. The general rise in the educational, cultural and political level of an enormous number of people and the ever greater importance of their conscious commitment and influence in all fields of life, especially politics, economics and culture (public opinion).

It is natural that our own country should also have been exposed to the general tendency toward evermore massive and intensive propaganda. It is well known that throughout the postwar period Yugoslavia has been the target of constant ideological, political and propaganda pressures and influences and that as a rule they have been connected most intimately with the domestic class in political struggle and revolutionary developments. Whereas certain other forms of enemy activity directed against us have occasionally slackened off or disappeared altogether (sabotage, for example), the propaganda front has always been open. All circumstances support the premise that it will be increasingly more active in the future as well, which means that the fight on this front will be increasingly important for us.

Because of their importance and role in preserving the achievements of the revolution and socialist development to date and because they are a point of support for future revolutionary developments in our country, our armed

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\* Although the term "propaganda" does not fully cover the content of everything usually signified by the term "psychological propaganda activities," it most approximately expresses most of those activities and their essence, and we will use it hereafter instead of the term "psychological propaganda."

forces have been among the principal targets focused on by the hostile political propaganda effort. The general goal of the enemy's activity has been and remains this: to compromise the armed forces and to weaken their ties with society as a whole, and on the other hand to weaken them internally along all lines, and specifically to undermine their political unity.

As for the relationship between propaganda and other types of enemy activity, we have already said that to a great extent the latter depend on the propaganda, ideological and political influence and penetration of a particular environment. In other words, propaganda is frequently the "precursor" which prepares the terrain for other types of activity. Under the impact of propaganda people are made at least passive with respect to other enemy activities, and in cases when the enemy achieves a more serious and effective penetration with ideological and political propaganda, it is even possible for individuals to be recruited as active agents in intelligence, sabotage, political subversion and similar activities. To be sure, there may also be a different basis for the involvement of individuals in these activities: money, promises, blackmail, advantage taken of particular personal motives and interests, yet those who do this from conviction, i.e., those whom the enemy has managed to win over to its ideology and politics, are still the most reliable. That is why an effective effort against the impact of the enemy's ideological, political and psychological influences is at the same time an essential prerequisite for success in the effort against other types and forms of enemy action.

However, there are also certain specific features of propaganda. By contrast with most other forms of hostile activity, which by and large represent a threat to life and property: military and other structures, weapons, documents, human life, etc., propaganda mostly attacks and threatens people's consciousness and morality, their mutual relations, their attitudes and their ideological and political commitments. Self-protection against the impact of the enemy's psychological propaganda is essentially different and more complex in the light of the circumstance. In protecting against intelligence, sabotage and similar activity, that is, the primary things are effectively organized and implemented technical, organizational and administrative measures and procedures, as well as the actions of physical security, all of which usually has an auxiliary role and value in protection against propaganda.

Second, except for propaganda, all forms of enemy activity are ordinarily illegal--both in the phase of preparation and in the phase of execution. For that reason they are usually restricted to a small number of people and objectives. Propaganda, however, especially when it is carried out with the mass media (radio, the press, etc.), is simultaneously aimed at a large number of citizens or of members of the armed forces. In certain of the more subtle forms and domains (science, art, entertainment and fashion) it is even carried out legally, which also makes the fight against it essentially more complicated. We should also recall the fact that there is a definite difference between the description of hostile propaganda as a

crime in our positive legislation and what we signify by that term in its broader meaning in our political practice: ideas, attitudes and forms of behavior which are not in conformity with our ideology (Marxism) and the program and policy of the LCY in all domains of social life and development. This also makes the fight against enemy propaganda more difficult and complicated and limits the range of administrative and similar measures.

Finally, by contrast with propaganda, all the other ways of threatening social values are considerably easier to describe in terms that state what does and what does not represent such a threat. That is why it is relatively easier to train people to combat those types of threats. The problem is much more complicated, however, in the case of propaganda. It is not always either easy or simple, for example, to distinguish justified, well-intentioned and constructive criticism from bickering and malicious criticism from alien positions, since making that distinction necessitates a certain level of political knowledge which must constantly be expanded, renewed and brought up to date.

#### The Content and Thrust of Self-Protection Against Hostile Propaganda

We do not always use the same term in speaking about the goals and tasks in combating enemy propaganda aimed at the armed forces. We say that enemy propaganda should be "prevented" and "thwarted," that members of the armed forces should be "protected," that enemy propaganda should be "countered," and so on. It is not merely a question of greater or lesser precision and appropriateness of these terms from the lexicological standpoint. The essential thing is their content and everything that they imply with respect to our basic orientation in the counterpropaganda effort.

We must say at once that the fight against enemy propaganda must be comprehensive in its content and in the measures it includes. It is expected, first, to prevent and thwart the domestic and external enemy from waging propaganda, but we must first discover it. Further, it presupposes the taking of those measures which prevent and restrict movements and dissemination of enemy messages of various types (all forms of written and similar propaganda, films, photographs, and so on). When the armed forces are involved, then this also presupposes appropriate restrictions on the circulation of such materials imposed on units and then a special set of conditions governing contacts between members of the armed forces and foreign nationals, etc. All of these measures objectively signify protection of members of the armed forces against enemy propaganda, but taken alone they still are not enough. That is, we should bear in mind that there is no complete protection against foreign influences, since almost every Yugoslav household has a radio and objectively can listen to any foreign radio station, and every year approximately 10-15 million copies of newspapers and magazines are imported which Yugoslav citizens can freely buy. Nor, finally, is it insignificant that the number of foreigners passing through Yugoslavia every year is greater than the country's population and that several million Yugoslavs travel abroad every year, while nearly a million are

working in other countries. When all this is borne in mind, it is not difficult to define the main direction of our effort against enemy propaganda: to do everything so that our working people and citizens and all members of the armed forces consciously and vigorously oppose propaganda in all situations and circumstances. Here we have arrived at the basic meaning and content of self-protection against enemy propaganda: equipping every member of the armed forces, all military entities and the armed forces as a whole to wage an active fight on their own against enemy propaganda and prevent its impact in their own ranks.

If the essence of self-protection as a social relation is that those waging the fight against any form of threat to the values of society are the working people and the members of the armed forces themselves, then in the case of the fight against enemy propaganda this principle is most clearly manifested. Or, still more precisely: this is the only way of effectively combating this type of hostile activity.

This question immediately arises: What is the essence of that ability [to oppose propaganda] and who can we say is equipped for that effort? The first condition for anyone to be capable of opposing enemy propaganda is that he be able to recognize and identify it. He must know what is and what is not our position and policy in the concrete case the enemy is talking about, that is, the kind of attitude and behavior in a particular situation that is in the interest of the future socialist development of the country or of a given social environment, and what would threaten and hinder that development. In other words, the condition of this ability is not the so-called "political reflex," but quite definite political knowledge, political awareness and a readiness to implement the particular policy in practice. If in addition to this the forms of enemy propaganda are also known, the effort would be all the more effective, but the knowledge of forms is still secondary. We do not recognize enemy propaganda by its form, but by its content.

The main content of self-protection as the basis of our effort against the impact of enemy propaganda, that is, the main line of our activity in that fight is, then, to steadily raise the political awareness of members of the armed forces concerning the principal social values and values of the armed forces and concerning our policy and the lines of our social development in all the major domains of life. This at the same time equips people to recognize enemy propaganda and to vigorously oppose it, i.e., to be real agents of self-protection in this domain.

#### Certain Essential Prerequisites of an Effective Effort Against the Impact of Enemy Propaganda in the Armed Forces

Since enemy propaganda is aimed primarily against the minds of members of the armed forces and their attitude toward the essential social values, the fight against it can be effective only if we are as concrete and comprehensive as possible in our activity and in exerting our influence on the

consciousness of our people and on their attitude toward those particular social values and the values of the armed forces. In this connection we must bear in mind the fact that several factors affect the consciousness of people and their attitude toward specific values attacked by enemy propaganda.

Marxist science established long ago that people's social consciousness is formed primarily on the basis of social reality and practice and only thereafter under the impact of ideas brought in from outside, education, propaganda and verbal communication in general. Like other citizens, members of the armed forces form their attitude toward the policy and ideology of the LCY, then, primarily on the basis of the specific reality and practice in society and in the armed forces. For example, people form their positive or negative opinion concerning our policy in the domain of relations among the nationalities and ethnic minorities, in the domain of the standard of living, etc., or with respect to the status of officers and men in the armed forces, relations in the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army], etc., not only on the basis of the kind of policy we proclaim, but above all on the way we implement it in practice and the kind of practical results we achieve. It follows that our own reality and practice are our strongest weapon in the fight against enemy propaganda. This truth has indeed been confirmed by our experiences in the National Liberation War and the postwar period. It is well known, for example, that during the war the occupier and domestic traitors spread a tremendous variety of lies and slander concerning the character and goals of our struggle, concerning our army and relations in it, and especially concerning the party as the leading force of the movement. We were naturally explaining to the people the true goals of the struggle and were developing our own political propaganda effort, but our strongest argument was our practice: our attitude toward the people and its property, our relations within units of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, the practical measures taken by the bodies of the new people's government, and so on. We could say the same thing about our entire postwar period; the principal reason for the failure of the constant propaganda aimed against us from West and East has been that our practice has refuted it.

This emphasis on the importance and influence of reality and practice on people's consciousness and attitudes does not diminish the need for scientific, theoretical and ideological explanation of those attitudes and for propagandizing our own policy. The more complicated the reality and practice and the more contradictions there are and the fewer the opportunities there are for them to be understood by a simple observation of external manifestations, personal experience and empirical contact, the more indispensable it is to provide scientific, ideological and political elucidation of social reality and practice. This rule is, of course, well known to our enemies as well. That is precisely why they aim their propaganda at those topics and those issues in the life of society and the armed forces in which there are fewer opportunities to check the truthfulness of their assertions, slogans and theses and to make comparisons with the actual situation, that



is, toward those domains of social and military life in which there exist definite contradictions and problems, especially where we are not achieving consistently the positions that have been taken and where--because of failures, errors and subjective weaknesses--definite difficulties and dissatisfaction are being generated. This equally applies to society as a whole and to the armed forces in particular. In other words, we dare not allow our own weaknesses and errors to encourage the formation of a negative attitude on the part of individuals and collectivities toward certain values of society and the armed forces, nor allow such practice to supply enemy propaganda with pretexts and arguments.

Looking to past experience, we can specifically single out certain domains of military life in which a good situation is an essential prerequisite for thwarting the impact of enemy propaganda (the converse always holds).

First of all, there is the sphere of relations among the nationalities within individual units and within the armed forces as a whole. Any form whatsoever of unequal treatment of officers or men on the basis of their nationality and any discrimination or privilege in and of itself undermines the unity of any military collectivity and creates fertile soil for enemy activity. That is why consistent implementation of the policy of the LCY in this domain, and particularly of the specific positions and arrangements provided for by enactment, is one of the most important defenses against that enemy propaganda which is aimed at arousing nationalism and chauvinism.

Equally important is the fight for respect of legality and for consistent enforcement of regulations with respect to the rights and obligations of officers and men during their service in the armed forces. There is no need for separate explanation of the kind of damage inflicted by procedures which violate rights or make it possible for obligations to be evaded on whatever basis (use of influence, favoritism, various privileges, etc.) nor how the enemy's propaganda can take advantage of that. In this context there are a number of tasks and obligations with respect to concern about soldiers and subordinates and development of the responsibility of officers and commands for improvement of the conditions of their life and work, housing, food, health, etc., all the way to safety of life. A lack of that concern in responsibility, particularly when it is manifested in frequent or major oversights which have serious consequences, undermines confidence and generates people's justified resentment, and sometimes even creates a suitable "terrain" for enemy activity.

In general the entire sphere of internal relations and direction in the armed forces is very important from the standpoint and strengthening the morale and political unity of military collectivities. These relations must be such in all their elements and the manner of direction must be such so as to always make it possible to draw a clear line between justified criticism and tendentious faultfinding, between the errors and oversights of particular individuals and the general practice and policy of building up the armed forces.

## The Role and Tasks of Participants in Self-Protection in the Armed Forces in the Counterpropaganda Effort

We have already said that a successful fight can be waged against enemy propaganda only if all members of the armed forces and all decisionmakers in political life and military direction are actively involved in it. We will therefore examine the role of each of them.

The members of the armed forces (the YPA) as individuals are the most important and most numerous participants in that effort. In principle their role is the same as the role of the working people and citizens in the general domain of social self-protection. Here is what the resolutions of the 13th Meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LCY have to say about this: "The working people and citizens are the principals carrying out all measures and activity in social self-protection, and the process of socialization of the security function goes forward and becomes stronger as a function of their direct commitment in protecting society."

When we commit ourselves to this kind of role for the members of the armed forces, we have in mind not only the fact that that effort cannot be effectively waged in any other way, but also an awareness that all members of the armed forces have an interest in becoming involved in this effort, that is, that they are defending their own ideological and moral integrity and the morale and political unity of their collectivity. At the same time, we take as our point of departure the judgment that they are capable of waging that fight or that we can so equip them. The next assumption is that we involve them in an appropriate way in that fight, that they have been put in a position where they can wage it and will be organized in that fight. This latter is certainly one of the key questions in the whole domain of self-protection as a qualitatively new relation in solving the problem of security in society and therefore the armed forces as well.

Consequently, one of the basic questions we need to answer is this: What can be essentially new in the position of the members of the armed forces in the effort against all types of enemy activity and therefore against propaganda as well? In committing ourselves to self-protection, are we at the same time committing ourselves to something essentially new in the way members of the armed forces are involved in that effort?

First of all, I think that the role of members of the armed forces cannot be reduced to their involvement as staff members of specialized agencies and services (security, political or whatever). This is not even the most important thing, but is frequently secondary. It is certain that every soldier and every officer should know the role of those agencies and report to them his observations and proposals when he judges that their involvement is necessary. This was established practice even in the past. However, if members of the armed forces are oriented primarily toward large-scale commitments in detecting and reporting negative and politically unacceptable attitudes and forms of behavior, this would not yield the appropriate

results, and it would in itself impart negative elements to mutual relations and would lead to a deformation of those relations.

We naturally must expect of every member of the armed forces that he will strictly adhere to the established duties and rights regulating, say, contact with foreigners, procedure in handling propaganda material of hostile content and enemy origin, and so on. This is also a part of the overall system of self-protection.

However, the most important thing concerning the role of the member of the YPA as an individual is his personal and active opposition to any negative ideological and political attitude and form of behavior which is alien to us. This opposition, that is, this immediate reaction, on the spot, in the situation where that attitude is encountered--that is the elementary principle of effective ideological and political struggle. Insistence on this type of involvement is all the more justified because most such acts are committed mainly in oral personal communication and because in most cases these are acts and forms of behavior which is the consequence of a low level of consciousness or backward consciousness, prejudice, ignorance, momentary personal dissatisfaction, and so on, and only to a lesser extent are they the consequence of the direct impact of enemy propaganda. Immediate and argued reaction to such attitudes, then, not only prevent their further spread and adverse influence, but also helps the person who displayed that attitude to change it and overcome it.

If members of the YPA are truly to behave in this manner, they must feel this to be their obligation and their right. Every individual should be made responsible for protecting the collectivity against politically and morally negative influences regardless of their source. However, if people are to bear that kind of responsibility, they must also have corresponding rights. First of all, the right to be informed, and then also the right to present their opinions in appropriate assemblies (the military collectivity, party, youth and trade union organizations, etc.) concerning all issues, including public criticism of particular attitudes and forms of behavior, as well as documented observations and criticism of the performance of any official entity. One important prerequisite for that type of behavior and commitment is certainly that there prevail in the unit (institution) relations and an atmosphere which allow for free (moral and responsible) discussion and the posing of questions concerning every social or military problem without fear that awkward questions or possible mistaken attitudes will immediately be followed by political discreditation.

The role of the unit's commanding officer, as the person responsible for self-protection in this domain, follows from the role we have already described for every member of the armed forces, but also from his position in the military organization and in the system of relations and direction. He is personally responsible and also motivated to protect the unit against the impact of enemy or any negative propaganda or political ideology. He has at his disposition various measures and means so that he can do this

effectively, above all the powers granted him by military regulations. Yet most important to his role in the system of self-protection is that he direct his activity toward mobilizing the entire unit in that effort, make the men (and subordinates) responsible for that effort, apply the appropriate method of direction to put them in a position where they can conduct it, and organize and equip them for that effort.

The role of commands is in principle the same as the role of the individual officer. The difference is that at these levels of direction (regiment, brigade, division, etc.) there are various specialized agencies and the commanding officer's staff specialists. Security agencies and political agencies are especially important with regard to the counterpropaganda effort.

Security agencies, which are specialized agencies of the command (commanding officer), are the best qualified to discover and prevent all types of illegal enemy activity, including psychological propaganda. The specific nature of the role which they perform in the system of self-protection is that in their work--in conformity with regulations and authority--they can also use certain methods, means and procedures which are the most effective in detecting and thwarting illegal types of organized enemy activity. It is especially important to the development of self-protection and to the massive involvement of all members of the armed forces in that effort that security agencies offer specialized aid and relevant information to all personnel and to all persons involved in self-protection. The more effective and politically alert they are in doing this, the less they will have the role of exclusive and principal agencies in the effort against enemy psychological propaganda actions, which in turn will give them far greater opportunities to commit themselves still more fully to those tasks which require specialized work and special methods in discovery of the channels and agents of illegal activity. In an advanced system of self-protection, i.e., when all factors in society and the armed forces are actively involved in the counterpropaganda effort, it will be easier for these agencies to pick up the enemy's "trail."

Political agencies, as specialized agencies of commands, are the best qualified and bear the greatest responsibility for developing the political and social consciousness of members of the YPA (the armed forces) on an ongoing basis through the system of ideological and political education and indoctrination and also through their effort to inform and persuade and their cultural activity, since this is the principal prerequisite of their ability to resist alien and hostile ideological and propaganda influences. It is their task in the programming and performance of this work to provide those attributes which will make the greatest contribution to equipping the members of the armed forces to be vigorous fighters for implementation of the policy of the LCY, which presupposes in turn the offering of resistance to all activity which is opposed to that policy, especially hostile propaganda. From that standpoint it is particularly important that this work be as concrete and relevant as possible, that it encompass even that subject

matter which portrays in a true light our opponents, their ideology and their real political goals toward our country. Political information work must also be timely and thorough, since then it prevents the haphazard formation of public opinion and, still more important, it prevents the enemy from advancing his own interpretations of concrete events and problems before we do.

The League of Communists--by the very nature of its role in society and the method of its operation in society and in the armed forces--is the principal initiator and leading ideological and political vehicle in the effort against all types of threat to the achievements of our revolutionary development, and in that context against hostile ideological and political influences. Overcoming and frustrating such influences are an integral part of the LCY's effort to carry out its own program in every particular social environment. The organizations of the LCY, that is, must constantly act in the political domain to identify and expose all antisocialist and antiself-management manifestations, attitudes and those responsible for them and to wage an ideological campaign against them. In performance of that role party members should individually serve as an example and should be the most consistent fighters in the system of self-protection.

Organizations of the Socialist Youth League and trade union organizations in the YPA are expected, first of all, to constantly equip their own members to be active fighters against enemy propaganda. They are also a suitable form for examination of specific ideological manifestations in various milieux and for involvement of the maximum number of soldiers and civilians in this political activity.

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## YUGOSLAVIA

### NUANCES OF RIGHT TO CRITICIZE OFFICIALS EXPLORED

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Oct 77 p 9

[Article by Slavoljub Djukic: "On the Criticism of Officials: How to Publicly Criticize Influential People With Whose Work One is Dissatisfied"]

[Text] As a guest [speaker] of the political platform, I was recently asked a question which presented a difficulty in determining whether it was posed by a uninformed or a shrewd discussant, who was testing the spirit and the openness of the lecturer: Can one criticize public officials?

The discussion took place in the popular and intimate youth center where a good practice has been established that participants in discussions have the right to their own doubts and delusions.

Can officials be criticized? From the standpoint of the principles of our system the question is devoid of meaning. This, however, is not the only question which life imposes regardless of current social engagements. Indeed, if taboo subjects do not exist, or should not exist, even less so could taboo personalities and principles of hierarchical subordination and superordination exist under self-management. If anyone could make a mistake, it is presumably clear that anyone can be criticized, since the only greatness is that of truth.

However, the subject initiated at the youth platform is surely not of a theoretical but rather of a practical nature. There are indications that, in the debate on the political system, it will be raised in a more complex and substantial form. This is not flirting with democracy, nor an idea which is suddenly fashionable, but rather the essence of the development of socialist democracy.

Something to this effect was already said at the "round table" in reference to the Socialist Alliance and its position in the political system. On this occasion Dr. Najdan Pasic reminded that if public officials are beyond the reach of public control, they inevitably become bureaucrats, irrespective of their personal traits and progressive orientation. In order to

accomplish its function, Professor Pasic continued, the Socialist Alliance must provide an opportunity to working people and citizens, who hold socialist positions in principle, to be able to legally express disagreement and dissatisfaction, nor merely some [kind of] generalized criticism. "They must be availed of the opportunity to subject to concrete criticism all matters and all people with whose work and behavior they are dissatisfied."

What is the reason for speaking about the criticism of officials in particular? This is because their influence is undoubtedly great, and because the lack of democratic checks results in the arbitrariness of individuals. The principle of self-managing responsibility can be authoritative and fruitful only if it acknowledges [the existence] of privileges and traditional coercion. The true withering away of the antidemocratic complex, which bears the title of forum work, forum administration, and forum policies, begins with criticism which does not by pass anyone.

Practice, unfortunately, is capable of resisting the implementation of illuminating principles, and, occasionally, even of revolting against them. We read a statement recently, without a trace of wonder, that the criticism of officials is in fact a criticism of the system. The conclusion which can be drawn from this is that it is oppositional criticism, and therefore destructive, with all of the consequences of oppositional criticism. This is a dangerous apologetic trick which compromises a number of great and small principles and disqualifies normal political life, including the basic human right. At any rate, it is a trick employed by someone who wishes to blur the true state of affairs and his personal responsibility.

Fortunately, this is an isolated opinion. A greater problem today is the lack of practice for a reasoned assessment of the activity of each individual, particularly that of an official. An assessment in which free expression, value and good intention, would prevail over bureaucratic interruption in flight from the truth.

Public dialogue, as we know, is hazardous. It is nonetheless troublesome that the sum of risks frequently surpasses the customary measure of courage. At the occurrence of a public dialogue, the possibility of dishonest dealing comes to mind first. There is something wrong with one of the two discussants. Something will happen to the one or the other. This is not a question of consciousness but one of experience.

The problem surrounding the criticism of public officials is considerably more complex than it appears. I order that we could appraise someone's work the latter should be sufficiently visible. The moves of influential people are not always accessible to the public, since it is easy to gain public coverage for one's own actions. Self-management can be violated by legal means, classic authority for imposing one's own will is not required. Self-management is violated, yet there is no violator, or, the violator is a collective one, since the will of individuals and groups is skillfully

transformed into a collective one. It is not accidental that Edvard Kardelj speaks of forum work, hyperproduction of meetings, strong sources of bureaucratism and technocratism, and rudimentary forms of democratic communication.

Dr. Stipe Suvar rightly stated that the principle problem today is how to instill political life into concrete life so that the masses would come to its forefront. We demonstrate a great deal of concern about the system as such, Dr. Stipe Suvar continues, "while the system could suppress and paralyze the man.... We dispose of a great deal of space for self-management and a large degree of self-management, and still a minority of self-managers in society." This contains the roots of the abstention from criticism of officials, about which we shall say some more on another occasion.

According to reliable estimates, in Yugoslavia today there are about 4 million public officials (the number of employed is 5 million). In the League of Communists of Serbia alone, according to most recent data, about 160 thousand persons will be elected to various responsible posts. The problem of criticizing officials, and let us call it so, involves a quantitative aspect, since it is a matter of several hundreds of our elect.

Let us conclude the discussion by recalling Edvard Kardelj's statement of about 15 years ago. As far as our memory serves us, [it involved the following] question: Can an individual criticize the government? Kardelj responded: "He certainly can, since the government is right only if it is right. The principle is universal."

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PREVALENCE OF FAVORITISM IN SOCIETY ANALYZED

Goal: Jobs, Housing

Belgrade OMLADINSKE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 22 Oct 77 p 9

[Article by Novo Tomic: "Attraction and Baseness of Favoritism"]

[Text] A great deal and yet very little are known about favoritism; it is with us more as a kind of unmentionable than a topic that is publicly, critically and politically discussed. It is difficult to determine its scale and range, but there is no question that it exists in fair amounts at almost every step. We are all against it, but there are few who have not felt it in some milder or more severe form, its bitter or its "sweet" sides, as victims or beneficiaries..... The material we are presenting on this topic is just a part of what can and must be said about this social evil and the others related to it (bribes, corruption, and so on), which are a legacy of bourgeois society and morality. We therefore intend to continue our presentation of this material in one of the coming issues, meanwhile awaiting your opinions and experiences.

There are times when one absolutely can't get anything done without pulling strings! Man's everyday practical existence is simply unimaginable without this "spice." It is practiced by vegetable sellers and physicians, directors and secretaries, relatives and those who come from the same place--in short, there are few people who have not had an occasion to favor someone or to be under someone's protection.

Favoritism is one of our society's contradictions, since it is contrary to the relations of self-management and to the exercise of rights on the basis of work and performance. How, then, is it possible for us to encounter favoritism so frequently in both its most harmless and its most dangerous forms? Is there a possibility of eradicating favoritism as a social phenomenon?

We all know how prevalent it is in human relations. The individual first becomes acquainted with it right after he has cried for the first time. It is a necessity if the midwife is to make a house call! The last act of patriotism is rendered him by the undertakers who provide him a "perpetual place" to suit his wishes!

It even took a bit of favoritism to get this article written.

#### Necessity and Good Will

Nothing has ever been written in the newspapers about the phenomenon of favoritism, it has never been debated at any political assembly as has, say, bribes or corruption. Sociological studies have not been made of it as they have about certain similar phenomena. It is the great public secret!

"In my opinion there are two types of favoritism. The first is when people hold certain social power and influence and are not subject to control by the environment in which they operate. They use this to create a myth about themselves as benefactors, and they do this at the expense of something which is not personally theirs. The other type of favoritism is committed out of necessity. The individual resorts to it not because he is not entitled to what he seeks, but because his right to it is difficult to exercise. The first type is much more dangerous, because it represents the typical abuse of official position, and the person practicing it creates an unjustified relationship of dependence between people," is the judgment of Doctor Danilo Z. Markovic, professor of the sociology of work at the faculty of political sciences in Belgrade.

Moreover, favoritism practiced out of necessity should be distinguished from favoritism practiced at the expense of others to gain certain prestige in society.

"Favoritism should also be distinguished from solidarity, since the two are frequently interwoven. A certain favoritism based on solidarity is not even socially harmful, though at first glance has the form of favoritism," says Ramiz Kurtesi, member of the secretariat of the Presidium of the Republic Conference of the Socialist Youth League of Serbia and chairman of the Commission for Culture.

As a social phenomenon favoritism has a very uneven intensity. Sometimes it appears to be harmless. A small service is rendered someone out of turn, for example. Who attributes importance to this, who sees a danger to society in this? But perhaps it is precisely these harmless little services rendered out of turn that are to blame for the fact that favoritism as a whole is not given the importance it deserves as a phenomenon that is very harmful to the development of our social relations.

## A Relic of the Past

Where are all the roots of favoritism? Is there any truth in the opinion that our people are inclined toward it by their traditional social nature? At one time a pledge made to one's elders was that one should help others in distress. But in the case of favoritism this moral principle has been considerably vulgarized.

"The roots lie in fact in a breakdown of the social order. The relations under capitalism, as we well know, cannot be imagined without favoritism. In attending to his business, the capitalist is not scrupulous about the means he uses to obtain profit. I think that favoritism in Yugoslavia is a remnant of those old social relations," says Professor Markovic.

In all of this there are also some purely economic roots. Doctor Dusan Icevic, chairman of the Coordinating Committee of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia for Mass Ideological Education and Sociopolitical Work and also a professor of sociology at the Electrical Engineering Faculty in Belgrade, says that favoritism is the result of certain unsatisfied economic or social needs and that it will persist so long as those needs exist.

Finally, it is also true that favoritism is generated most by institutions, whether those institutions are represented by individuals or groups.

"Rigid institutionality prevents people from exercising their rights quickly and simply, so it is no wonder that in this case they most frequently try to pull strings precisely within the framework of various institutions," Kurtesi says.

## The Opposite of Self-Management

But what is the relationship between favoritism and the relations of self-management? Would it be possible to simply eliminate it from the system?

"We can suppose that the more highly developed the relations of self-management, the less room there will be for favoritism. It truly is the fruit of relations in which the individual is not a factor in decision-making, but is affected by decisions made by others. We should say that the working people are very sensitive to cases of favoritism, that they do not accept it, though we cannot say that individuals do not make use of it, since they are frequently forced to, since they are being manipulated," says Marjan Rozic, secretary of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia.

Rozic says that to some extent favoritism has frightened us, and we resort to it even when we do not need to. Perhaps some rights would be exercised faster and better through normal channels.

"I think that in fighting for the relations of self-management we will at the same time be in a position to pull out the roots that generate favoritism. We should be aware that favoritism deforms the consciousness of self-managers, since it affirms relations of a different type. The opinion is then created that nothing could be done through normal channels and that everything can be done by pulling strings. More should be done so that we affirm in public normal channels for solving problems, we should fight publicly so that the individual holds a position from which he can express his interests and pursue them without pulling strings, and if something cannot be done, then he should be aware that it cannot be done by pulling strings either. We must pull the workman out of the position in which he is merely an anonymous person waiting for directives. Finally, we are ourselves favoring favoritism when we speak about problems only in general terms, but we do little to eliminate their causes," Rozic says.

#### Favoritism and Young People

There are few who encounter favoritism as frequently as young people. The most painful favoritism is that which directly affects their existence. How to get a job without favoritism, how to obtain promotions without favoritism, how to obtain an apartment without favoritism, and finally--how to make young people fighters for self-management when they frequently encounter something which is the opposite of self-management?

"There are two periods in the life of young people which are especially important in my opinion. First of all there is the period of early maturity. Young people most frequently get their first knowledge within their own wholesome and sincere family environment. They have an idealized picture of reality. Favoritism may be something which has the effect of completely destroying that picture instead of adjusting it to the real situation. The other important period is when a young person begins to support himself, when he begins his gainful employment, when he starts to raise a family. Then he is again in a situation where he meets favoritism more frequently than usual. I think that the entire society should make an effort to ease these 'shocks.' It is clear that they will not be eased if a young man encounters favoritism at every step, and it is almost a certainty that it will cause various deviations in young people," says Ramiz Kurtesi.

In Kurtesi's opinion, the Socialist Youth League also has a special task of making it easier for young people to get through these two encounters with reality. There is therefore a need for greater commitment to more effective solution of precisely those problems which have broad importance, such as education, jobs, work discipline, responsibility and the like.

Ivan Stambolic, secretary of the Executive Committee of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, said at a recent conference with chairmen of opstina, city, regional and provincial

conferences of the Socialist Youth League that a need has been felt for young people's representatives to sit on all hiring commissions simply to be able to oppose every case of injustice and favoritism in good time.

#### It Is Difficult To Judge

Finally, can favoritism be eradicated? Can one simply "legislate against it!"? In the end it appears that this is not so simple.

"I personally think that moral sanctions are considerably more effective than legislation. Favoritism is by its nature difficult to prove, and therefore it is difficult to try in a court of law," says Doctor Danilo Z. Markovic.

This opinion is also shared by Marjan Rozic, who feels that examples of favoritism should be brought out more frequently in public, and then the progressive forces will find a way of eradicating it.

"There are four directions in which we should move against favoritism in my opinion. First of all we must create conditions for meeting those basic needs which are usually the reason for resorting to favoritism. The development of the relations of self-management is the second direction. The contribution of sociopolitical organizations is very important, and it is particularly important for us to objectify as much as possible various standards and criteria. Take, for example, enrollment at the university. There was a time, as we know, when there was quite a bit of favoritism. But when the standards were changed, and when entrance examinations were set up so that favoritism was no longer possible because of the complete anonymity of the candidates, students gave up vain attempts to enter the university by the back door. I also feel that we can effectively oppose favoritism if we develop people's democratic consciousness and fight against groups and individuals who are making decisions in the name of others," says Doctor Dusan Icevic.

Finally, we should emphasize that favoritism is not at all as harmless as people think. To be sure, it is sometimes intertwined with solidarity, but very frequently it is the beginning of bribes and corruption. Favoritism is always on the borderline of bribes and corruption.

#### Young People Speak Out

Belgrade OMLADINSKE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 22 Oct 77 p 9

[Unsigned article: "Parents Have Preference"]

[Text] When favoritism is mentioned to young people, they usually think of hiring. That is where they think there is the most favoritism. This was confirmed in the conversations that one of our staff members had who went to the Motor Industry in Rakovica, the Bureau for Employment Security

in Savski Venac Opstina in Belgrade, and to the Student Cooperative in Belgrade in order to ask young people what they think about this phenomenon.

"Favoritism is the quicker way of getting a job. I have not gotten a job yet without the help of people I know," says Nenad Vukmirovic, a student.

Vesna Matic, a machine technician, is a specialist at the Industry of Motors and Tractors. She is not worried about work, since her job is waiting for her when she graduates. Nevertheless....

"When I needed a scholarship, my relatives pulled strings for me, and that certainly helped."

There is a great range of difference among cases of favoritism. Frequently the interest in it is inexplicable.

"In my work organization there was favoritism when rooms in the worker dormitory were being given out. Soccer players had preference and received rooms out of turn," said Radivoje Markovic, a skilled worker at the Industry of Motors in Rakovica.

His colleague Todor Visnjevic, also a skilled worker, agrees with him. He believes that one of the managers was especially interested in providing living space for soccer players even when they did not work in the factory.

Petar Savic, a skilled worker in the same factory, does not, however, agree with them.

"This could have happened before the decision was made requiring the opinion of the Presidium of the Socialist Youth League on every proposal. Now all decisions on distribution of rooms in worker dormitories require the endorsement of the young organization," Savic says.

Vladislav Djordjevic, a technician at Rakovica, is a member of the commission for trainees in the factory. His opinion on the hiring of young people in the work organization is interesting.

"There is an unwritten rule that if someone has worked for a long time in the factory, his child or even his relatives have preference at the time of hiring. 'Relatives' have preference over others. If such a situation arises, then the commission without fail backs the candidate who has preference on that basis," Djordjevic says.

Young people are strongly opposed to favoritism.

"It is intolerable, harmful and illegal in our society," is the feeling of Slavica Popovic, a graduate of the academic high school.

It is very important that young people usually differ from older people when they are in a position to give someone preference.

"For 4 years I was on the hiring commission for trainees at Polet-Invest. I have never yet acted to favor the hiring of anyone who did not fulfill the qualifying conditions."

Finally, there are shining exceptions of cases where favoritism is not necessary. Mirjana Brkovic, a student, was lucky and obtained a job in BORBA even though she previously was not acquainted with anyone there. It sometimes happens.

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PROBLEMS OF INTERCEPTING UNIDENTIFIED AIRCRAFT SKETCHED

Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Nov 77 p 6

[Article by Angel Oncevski: "Expensive Negligence"]

[Text] It Is Important To Work as Provided For in Rules, Guidelines and Instructions in the Planning, Reporting and Security of Aircraft Flights

The person who traces movements on a map filled with symbols in different colors drew with a practiced hand the route of an unidentified aircraft flying at a high speed.

Since the chief of the shift in the operations center ascertained that it was not a military aircraft, flight control was asked if it was a civilian aircraft, and at the same time the fighters on duty were put on the highest level of alert.

"We have no information about the flight of a civilian aircraft on that line," flight control reported and added: "Nevertheless, we will check once more."

The unidentified aircraft was coming close to an important facility. They dared not wait any longer. Fighters went up to meet him. A report soon came in from flight control that it was a civilian aircraft, giving the flight number and the route.

"The change in the previously planned route of the flight was not reported punctually to the competent authorities," the people in flight control explained.

The fighters broke off their activity and returned to the zone of their air base. Here they stayed for a time to bring their fuel down to a certain level (a MIG cannot land safely if it is carrying too much fuel). So, the pilots were forced to consume fuel and the aircraft and motor.

The story we have told does not happen often, but it does happen. Sometimes data on reported and approved aircraft flights are delivered late



to the competent authorities either because of an error by people working in flight control or because of an oversight of a person operating the air reconnaissance, reporting and guidance system in its centers. This makes it more difficult to identify aircraft discovered in the air, and those on duty in the regional air defense system must intervene unnecessarily. This neglect or forgetfulness is frequently expensive. After all, as we know, an hour of a present-day combat plane's flight costs several tens of thousands of dinars. Two or three such errors per month "eat up" more than 100,000 dinars, and then that is not all the damage. If pilots and other personnel on duty are frequently put on the highest level of alert and fighters take off without real need, then there is a pointless strain on personnel and a purposeless expenditure of money.

Moreover, when pilots take off on several occasions to intercept "unidentified" aircraft (quickly found to be aircraft that have been regularly and punctually reported and their flights scheduled), this could have the result of diminishing their attention and speed of reaction, which would have an adverse effect on performance and success in the intervention of fighters in wartime. (This is mindful of the story about the shepherd who called out his fellow villagers falsely several times, saying that there was a wolf, and then when the wolf actually did appear, they did not take him seriously, and the wolf slaughtered the sheep.)

There are people who think that the flights we have mentioned are useful, since they give practice to personnel in the system of air defense. I consider this a great error, since there is no question here of any real practice for pilots or air technicians in operations centers or at radar stations and other parts of our air defense system. I would say the only practice is in the speed of takeoff (when pilots are in a particular level of alert), but nothing more than that! Intercepting an unidentified aircraft is a much more complicated matter, and the taking off is only one small part of it. And even that procedure--which is referred to as taking off in a state of alert--can be practiced very effectively on the ground at incomparably lower cost.

It is not difficult to conclude from everything that has been said that these shortcomings can be corrected if the people planning, reporting and securing flights work more conscientiously. Meanwhile regulations, guidelines and instructions state the manner in which flight controllers and people in centers of the air reconnaissance, reporting and guidance system should work in planning, reporting and securing flights of aircraft in our air space.

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SEMINAR HELD ON COORDINATION BETWEEN AIR, OTHER FORCES

Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Oct 77 p 3

[Article by Dusan Otovic: "Coordinated Actions With the Same Objective"]

[Text] A 2-day seminar in which coordinated action of the air force and air defense with ground forces, the navy and territorial defense was recently held in the Center for University-Level Military Schools (organized by the National Defense School). The material that was prepared, the papers and the discussions treated many questions in this all-embracing topic, approaching it both from the standpoint of the theory and practice of combat in contemporary warfare and also from the standpoint of our military doctrine. Participants in the seminar included Air Force Gen Col Enver Cemalovic, commander of the air force and air defense, Gen Col Rahmija Kadenic, head of the Center for University-Level Military Schools, Gen Lt Cols Rade Susa, Stevan Ilic, Stevan Rogljic, Slobodan Alagic and Milan Glumac, Gen Majs Stanislav Ocokoljic and Jovan Ninkovic, as well as officers from commands and units of ground forces, the air force and air defense, the navy, territorial defense and the Center for University-Level Military Schools.

In the discussions the participants in the seminar started from the position that in our conception of nationwide defense armed conflict throughout the entire Yugoslav theater of war--on land, at sea and in the air--represents the integrated totality of a unified process in which all branches of the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] and territorial defense units participate. The waging of this combat, which is complicated to some extent because of the massive participation of numerous components--the population in diverse forms of resistance, all participants in nationwide defense and the armed forces as a whole, and because of the large area and long duration, should be directed toward a single objective.

When we bear this position in mind, we can understand why a particular dimension is given to the coordination of components in combat, especially with respect to creating all the necessary conditions for effective command and direction. Indeed "Combat Strategy" states that "... effectiveness in the direction and command of the armed forces depends on well-organized coordination, adjustment and cooperation among commands and staffs of the armed forces at all levels and between them and the bodies of self-management and executive bodies of government of sociopolitical communities."

Our military doctrine has precisely defined the place and role of all branches of the YPA. Thus the air force and air defense are assigned to air defense of the country as such and of groupings and elements of the armed forces and to air support of ground forces, navy and territorial defense. All operations of this branch of the armed forces should contribute directly or indirectly to maximum effectiveness in accomplishment of missions by the principal elements of combat, which are the ground forces and territorial defense units.

It is therefore indispensable to understand, it was said at the seminar, that many missions of the air force and air defense which are accomplished without a direct relation to the missions of other structures are oriented toward coordination with the other parts of the armed forces. The principal reference here is to involvement of the air force and air defense in the fight for air superiority.

The discussion in the seminar was conducted in several fields so as to examine to the fullest the question of coordination of the air force and air defense with other parts of the armed forces: coordination in general, coordination in air defense, coordination in providing air support to ground forces, coordination of the air force and air defense with the navy, coordination of the air force and air defense with territorial defense, and the last field was coordination of other structures of the armed forces with the air force and air defense in the fight for air superiority.

#### Unified Air Defense

The papers and reports presented at the meeting emphasized that we have an up-to-date organization of air defense and that it is one of the principal instruments in the combat actions of the armed forces. Figures were also given to confirm the effective coordination of all participants in air defense. Among other things, effective coordination in exercises has achieved rational use of the combat weapons for air defense, purposive use of the air force, punctual and complete exchange of situations concerning the situation on the ground and in the air, and so on.

To be sure, there was less talk on this occasion about successes and about good work than about the problems which need to be solved. This

applies both to the theoretical discussion and also to verification in practice.

For instance, in spite of successes in coordination between fighters and air defense missile units, it was said that more work should be done on action in separate zones and also in joint combat zones. If, say, they are operating in separate zones but in the immediate vicinity of one another, coordination must be so organized that the guidance officer will see in time that a fighter leaving that zone will not enter the zone where the missile units are operating. Radio communication between the fighter pilot and the guidance officer must be irreproachable in this respect. When operations are being conducted in a joint combat zone, the problem of coordination is much more complicated with respect to the organization of coordination.

Quite a bit was also said about the coordination between fighter planes and field air defense. After all, the organization of coordination between these two participants in air defense presupposes full attention in view of the tasks which they perform. One thing that was said is that in the zone along the line of the front field air defense takes upon itself most of the tasks of air defense, while fighter planes are used only in exceptional cases, and then after every mission has been very precisely and meticulously worked out in detail. After all, if coordination is not working perfectly, our field air defense could bring down our own planes. Recognition of our fighter planes is a very essential task in this respect.

There are more and more weapons for air defense, and they are increasingly effective, so that there is an ever greater probability of the weapons bringing down friendly fighters. (This did happen in the last Arab-Israeli war: quite a few fighters were hit by their own field air defense.) The independent assessment by a soldier armed with a surface-to-air missile as to whether an airborne target is friendly or not is the most delicate question in this coordinated action. Present-day fighters and fighter-bombers are very similar to one another and very fast, and it is very difficult to recognize them from their silhouette and markings. Several proposals for a better solution to this problem were presented at the seminar, and at a future date some things will be explained still better from a theoretical standpoint and verified in practice.

The participants in the seminar advocated that within the context of the general principles governing coordination in air defense--every mission and every air situation, that the problem of coordination be solved individually and in every respect creatively so that the entire air defense system has maximum effectiveness.

## Experiences in Exercises Will Be Generalized in the Form of Rules

Valuable experience in coordination was gained in exercises where air support was given to ground forces. In this meeting many of the reports spoke about the experiences of commands and units in this respect. The correctness of many of the positions set forth in the "Temporary Manual for Coordination of the Air Force and Air Defense With Ground Forces, the Navy and Territorial Defense" was confirmed in those exercises, and some of the new experiences will be generalized in the form of regulations (soon to be published).

Because of the rapid development of aviation, the extremely rapid increase in the firepower of ground forces, the depth of penetration, mobility, effectiveness of fire and other achievements, there are many problems which need to be solved with respect to the effectiveness of offensive and defensive weapons in connection with air support of ground forces. It is a question of constant improvement and upgrading of performance. After all, actions should be coordinated under these conditions, since the results of combat depend on the quality of coordination. All our research and all our theory and practice are oriented in that direction.

One common feature of all the reports related to this coordination was this principle: optimum use must be made of the firepower of the air force and air defense committed to support and of the capability of ground force units in accomplishment of joint missions, at minimum losses of our own. This is in short the objective of this type of coordination.

Participants in this seminar took the position (which was stated in resolutions) that air support of ground forces should be looked upon in the context of combat of all parts of the armed forces and should cover all elements: strikes, weapons destruction, disruption of systems of coordination, dynamic movement of forces, losses in personnel and combat equipment, overloaded or disrupted communications, and so on. A system of coordination in air support of ground forces should be developed in this context, and people should be trained accordingly.

One of the problems has been coordinating the fire and movement of elements of the order of battle of components of the armed forces (the principal reference is to ground force units and units of the air force and air defense furnishing them air support). With respect to the use of the air force and air defense in air support, it is indispensable to have a good familiarity with the situation in the zone of operations and for the responsible officers to be in personal and technical communication, these being the officers who are making decisions about the use of forces. Success in air support, according to several participants in the seminar, depends to a great extent on the continuity of information exchanged among commanding officers concerning the situation in the zone of operations and on the accuracy, timeliness and secrecy of the information. How can this be achieved? Proposals were made in this regard, and they are to be studied and then verified in practice.

In many joint tactical exercises there has been proof that it is a good thing for ground force units to have air force communications officers or air force guidance officers. After all, aside from giving professional advice to commanding officers of ground force units, they help personnel in units to recognize friendly aircraft more easily and to report their flight. This helps greatly in protecting our planes from being exposed to the fire of field air defense and in keeping these aircraft from striking their own ground force units. It was recommended at the seminar that there be representatives of ground force units in commands of air force and air defense units; they would help those commands in following the situation in the zone of operations and would be quicker to spot objectives against which the air force should operate.

These are just some of the topics which were debated at that meeting.

At the end of the 2-day discussion of coordination of the air force and air defense with ground forces, the navy and territorial defense Gen Lt Col Air Force Rade Susa, head of the National Defense School, said in his concluding address that the seminar had been entirely successful, since many problems in this large problem area had been examined in the light of our theory and actual combat operations in contemporary warfare. The Center for University-Level Military Schools and the National Defense School will work over and systematize the material of the seminar and then deliver it to all components of our armed forces so that the positions taken and various solutions presented in it can be worked on still better from a theoretical standpoint and verified in the actual coordination of all components of our armed forces.

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## YUGOSLAVIA

### EMPLOYMENT OF ALBANIANS, OTHER NATIONALITIES IN KOSOVO

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Nov 77, p 9

[Article by Nebi Gasi]

[Text] The involvement of the LC, the SAWP, the Association of Trade Unions and other forces in Kosovo had a vital influence in overcoming the earlier state of affairs: The total of those employed in this province rose within this period; particularly, there was a rise in the employment of skilled and educated workers from the ranks of Albanians, Turks, etc. There has been a vital change in the structure of skilled workers, both the newly hired and in retraining those already employed. A large number of centers and schools for the education and general technical training of the workers have been opened, huge resources have been set aside, both in the form of credits and scholarships, for the workers, primary and secondary school students, university students, as well as other forms of perfecting the management and the workers. There has been an improvement in the composition of the governing organs, self managing associations, jurisprudence, etc., as far as the national makeup and level of qualification are concerned. A solid basis for the entire workers' class in the Province and greater security and trust among the working people for our self-managing system have been created.

All of this has been accomplished thanks to decisive action on the part of LC and other progressive forces and cadres of the nations and nationalities in the Province. By acting in this manner, the LC has greatly narrowed the scope of activity for the antisocial forces, the nationalistic, separatist and irredentist elements who still, because of Kosovo's underdevelopment and insufficient employment opportunities and contradictions that arise out of it, are developing their activity, their lack of confidence in the League of Communists, as well as other nations and nationalities, and in the socialist self-managing system.

Starting from the realization that without economic equality there is no national equality, as a basic condition for the common life of all the nations and nationalities, the LC of Kosovo, Serbia and Yugoslavia has always striven and still strives in its politics to stimulate the development of Kosovo because it is the most backward area. To date, these efforts have yielded some results, but the effects of such investments are still not sufficient to

overcome the accumulated economic, social and, above all, spatial possibilities for ameliorating the employment problem. This is because the SAWP Kosovo has the lowest rate of employment for the Albanian nationality. By the end of 1975, there were 138 thousand workers employed in the social sector in Kosovo, which is approximately 10 workers per 100 inhabitants, which is still a low total figure of employment. However, if we were to evaluate this situation from a nationalist point of view, we would see that within the Province, by the end of 1974 (since we have statistical data for this period), by [nationalist] structures, the picture would be as follows: 58.2 percent were Albanians, 31 percent Serbs, 5.7 percent Montenegrins and 5 percent others. This means that, per 100 inhabitants, there were eight employed Albanians, 17 employed Serbs, 20 employed Montenegrins, etc. For the same period, Bosnia and Hercegovina had 337 thousand or 35 per hundred inhabitants, Serbia proper 1.189 million or 22 per hundred inhabitants, Vojvodina had 481 thousand or 24 per 100 inhabitants, Kosovo had 138 thousand or ten per hundred inhabitants, Croatia had 1.153 million employed or 26 per hundred inhabitants, while Montenegro had 102 thousand employed or 19 per hundred inhabitants.

It can be seen that the national employment structure mentioned here still points to an unfavorable situation for the Albanian nationality, and if we start from the assumption that employment in the social sector is the most secure source of income in Kosovo, it becomes all the more important in the forthcoming period to keep this economic element in mind before everything else. I am pointing this out only as an illustration of the existing problems in the sphere of economic equality, which became more pronounced in the 1966-1971 period, when a period of stagnation in employment set in the province. During this period, only 6,000 new workers, or 1,000 per year, found employment. From 1971 onward the intensity of employment has become somewhat greater, so that from that time approximately 7,500 workers are hired each year. Therefore, I think that the LC and other organs, at the Province level as well as opstina and associated labor levels, must become involved so that this five year developmental plan for Kosovo will secure more room for an even faster development of the province, so that the current social and other economic problems can be solved more quickly and successfully.

I do not think that our employment policy has ever been neglected. It has always found its place in all the structures of the regional organs and organizations and other environments. However, we must also realize the following: This problem has been approached somewhat partially and verbally, no organ or expert organization has ever approached it from an aspect of deeper study, or attempted other research methods.

I think that this question as whole has not been researched sufficiently, even though it constitutes a very important consideration, particularly for our circumstances in Kosovo. Therefore, it will be necessary in the future to approach this problem in a more studious manner, instead of unilaterally stating the existing situation: So many are employed, so many are unemployed. Consequently, this question cannot be left to the tempest which is not suitable



to us as a method. As long as we are talking about this, allow me to mention a few areas where, with perhaps a little effort, room could be made for employment. For example, the potential reserves of the rural areas have not been investigated at all.

Perhaps, with a certain amount of reorientation to certain industrial cultures, food industry and others that we lack on our market, and a policy of mini-credits for the so-called mini-farms and other [similar] efforts, a large number of people could find employment. Secondly, in the exploitation of some of our industrial and mining resources, the introduction of shift work or an intensification of the total process of utilizing these resources; a development of tertiary activities: Trade, tourism, home industry, etc., as well as a reevaluation of a number of other jobs which are now filled on a part time basis [would all help]. The persons who meet the criteria for retirement should be made to retire, so that jobs can be opened to younger people who would be more energetic and productive, etc. These are only a few thoughts which could, with some additional effort, greatly help a number of people to join the work activity.

Particularly, it should be kept in mind that in the future, when medium and long term plans of the opstinas and associated labor [are made] concerning the economic and social development of the Province, that these questions must find a place in the plans not as something accompanying the prospectus, but rather as a separate, thoroughly studied and analyzed subject. It must be built into all the plans as a separate and significant question of development, because the question of employment must be viewed as an integral part of the economic, social, cultural and general transformation of the Province.

In the forthcoming period, the politics of training the cadre must be coordinated with associated labor much better than it has been done up to now, so that this will not be a question only of the educational institutions, but also a matter of joint planning and directing the future development of educating and training the cadre, as well as [determining] the profile of cadres necessary for the economy. However, we expect that the new school reform, with the introduction of directed education, will contribute to a better coordination in training cadre for the needs of associated labor.

Therefore, in the forthcoming period, the politics of development of Kosovo must start from the assumption that the increase in the number of employed must secure the maximal activation of those capable of work. A better structuring of investments can contribute to this. It is necessary to realize a faster growth in the number of employed persons in associated labor where it will be necessary to direct them to those sectors of manufacture and services where there is a long term social interest and a guarantee of a developmental perspective. Starting from the possibilities of the development of economy and social activity, it is estimated that during the 1976-1980 period, the number of those employed by associated labor will increase at the rate of 6.5-7 percent per year, so that approximately 10,000 persons will be hired each year within the Province. However, as we have

seen, the economy of Kosovo cannot absorb even a fourth of the active, able population, so that the task lies before those responsible for this to examine the possibility of employing a certain number of workers within the broader area of Yugoslavia as a whole, which will contribute to ameliorating this problem. The economy of Kosovo will not be able, for a long time, to absorb all the people capable of working.

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